

**THE HISTORICALLY SITUATED CROAT: A CRITICAL**  
**ETHNOGRAPHIC INVESTIGATION OF POST-WAR**  
**CONSUMER BEHAVIOUR IN RELATION TO**  
**MUSEUM/HERITAGE CONSUMPTION AS LINKED TO**  
**INDIVIDUAL IDENTITY RE-CONSTRUCTION IN CROATIA**

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"NEMA RATA, DOK NEDIGNE  
RUKU, BRAT  
NA BRATA"

*Emir Kusturica, 1995, "Underground"*



## **ABSTRACT**

The thesis focuses on a distinct aspect of Consumer Behaviour, the consumption of the past through the museum or heritage site within post-war Croatia. Through the application of an inductive, qualitative methodology, “Critical Ethnography”, an integrated theory of individual identity formation, which is both social and psychological in nature, is presented. The thesis, which is the culmination of theory building, has been guided by in-depth interviews, observation of behaviour and the incorporation of theoretically sensitising literature. As a result of reflexive integration of both the data and the literature, a provisional six sub-categories of behaviour, which illuminated the effect of heritage consumption upon individual identity formation within a post war setting was identified. The initial six sub-categories underwent the process of ‘reduction’ and were reduced to a final three (Miles & Huberman, 2000). These three categories, which constitute the developed theory are analysed in relation to the different ways of constructing meaning and experiences within the museum/heritage context. The labels assigned to each of the developed categories, the “Fragmented self”, the “Paraphrenic self” and the “Enlightened self” are a reflection of a part of the self, which identifies to varying extents with the ascribed post-war identity of “Croat”. Furthermore the three explanatory categories of behaviour look into the various ways with which the individual subject reflects upon and interprets his/her own past in relation to the formation of an acceptable post-war conception of his/her individual identity.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I remember when I was an undergraduate I held a minimal interest in scholarship and a non-existent interest in numerical logic; to me the laws of arithmetic could not be true since they made no room for the unsequential time flux continuum, the human element and universal chaos. I graduated only because of the intense social and family expectations upon myself.

When I returned to education as a postgraduate, I did so in order to ensure a more lucrative future for myself, but what I did not expect to find was a genuine interest in academia and research.

Upon completion of my Masters I applied for a research bursary, and when I was presented with the opportunity to study for a PhD. I agreed straight away, but this time I did so purely because “I” wanted to.

There are only three people that I wish to thank and acknowledge for their kindness, hard work and help during the last five years and that is my mother Elli for her love and thoughtfulness, my father Ivan for his generosity and most importantly Dr. Christina Goulding who has been an absolutely critical link in the completion of this thesis. Thank you Christina for the encouragement, kindness and patience throughout the process.

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# Introduction



## INTRODUCTION

*The primary, and absolutely blameless casualty of war is  
"TRUTH"*

The aim of this thesis can largely be derived from the title, this study aims to explore the effects of consuming a selectively portrayed heritage upon individual identity reconstruction within a post civil war Croatian context, through the application of an ethnographic methodology.

### Rationale for the Thesis

The former Yugoslav republic of Croatia has recently had to confront a post-war future marked by a polemic past, it is now worth reflecting upon how the meaning/interpretation of the past has effected and shaped the present in Croatia. The issue of cultural consumption, the commodification of heritage, and the ensuing societal implications of selective interpretation have been the subject of much debate amongst the academic community (Stevenson, 2000; Uzelak, 1998; Chapman, 1994; Goulding, 1997; Hewison, 1987; West, 1988; Bennett 1988). The fundamental questions at the core of this debate are of authenticity, the exclusion of minority groups, and the ethics of selectively presenting and selling the past. Russell (1993) proposes that heritage conservation has, in the past, operated partially and prejudicially. Byrne (1991) proposes that it is rare for a country to have an equal balance of ethnic groups in terms of numbers, wealth, or political influence. Consequently it is not uncommon for the dominant group to use its power to push its own heritage to the front and thus minimise the significance of subordinate groups as it crafts a national identity in its own self image (see also Jenkins, 1991; Bertens, 1995). Goulding (1997) states that at the most critical level this appears to be an objective that strike's of cultural autocracy, a philosophical position that declares a society's culture to be of a particular and extreme ethical value. At the heart of this philosophy is *"the ethnocentric adherence to one's own cultural norms as an ethically correct attitude for everyone except loosely defined Westerners"* (Howard 1993,

p315). This raises questions regarding the role of heritage consumption in relation to the construction of identity. According to Simpson (1993, p169):

"In the tourist exchange nexus, the icons of national identity are drawn from the peripheries of the dominant structures of society...the symbols of those who are often most loosely integrated into society are appropriated and exaggerated to provide an artificial construct by which the more extensive enterprise of manufacturing and marketing of acceptable, collective identities can begin."

Proesler (1990) states that museums and the representation of history through the heritage medium have had three effects on culture: 1) they transform culture, 2) they generate new forms of culture, and 3) they destroy other cultural forms. In the heritage context, meaning is achieved through the selection and value given to the objects of display (Uzelak, 1998). However, through such mediums as museums and heritage sites it is also possible that the past can be utilised in order to create, and, or maintain values that never existed (Chapman, 1994). Indisputable images and artefacts from another time become powerful symbols by which we may listen to and understand the past (Belk, 1988). Moreover, it has been suggested that the function that historically significant objects and images serve is one that contributes toward the creation, enhancement and preservation of a sense of cultural identity (Boylan, 1990). Boylan (1990) discusses the cultural significance provided by museums and their role in answering such fundamental psychological questions as, who am I? and where do I come from? Others give context to the notion of belonging to such groups as the family, community, workplace or nation (Bennett, 1988; West, 1988; Walsh, 1992). The importance of such establishments is highlighted through an analysis of newly independent countries over the past forty years, who appear to create four vital symbols of independence (Boylan, 1990).

- 1: A national defence force
- 2: A national broadcasting service:
- 3: A national university
- 4: A national museum

Four symbols that Boylan (1990) suggests keep people together and create a nation, although the political and ideological representations may do much to manipulate



perceptions about dominant philosophies and the individual's place in society (Lowenthal, 1981; Thomas, 1990; West, 1990; Jenkins, 1991; Russell, 1993; Walsh, 1992; Condoris, 1989; Byrne, 1991; Hermann, 1989; Cleere, 1989; Simpson, 1993; Bertens, 1995; Stevenson, 2000). However it is not just the government that considers the importance of such symbols of nationality and heritage, Boylan states that in the former CCCP after the 1917 revolution there were only seven museums. Under Brezhnev's rule that number had increased to 1500, which further escalated to 2000 (not counting a further 14000 which operate without public funding or encouragement from the authorities). According to Boylan (1990) this drive to consume the past is perceived as a manifestation of the needs of the indigenous public to consume the history and cultural identity of their own locality (Goulding, 1997). However, whilst there is considerable interest in the nature of heritage consumption, particularly in countries without a developed tourism infrastructure, and issues of ethnicity and touristic experiences in relation to culture are the subject of much academic discourse there exists very little work with an empirical foundation that takes account of the experiences of the indigenous population with regard to cultural significance, identification and the consumption of the past (Goulding, 1997).

Given the lack of formal theory, particularly in the area of heritage consumer motivations in Croatia, this research seeks, through the use of Critical Ethnography, to utilize the voices and actions of those who took part in the research to construct a theoretical base which has both empirical and theoretical relevance.

### **Yugoslavia –The Road Towards Conflict**

The power struggle between ideologies has posed a fundamental threat in achieving ever lasting world peace. In the 20th century the result has often been increased tensions among different states, economic and political sanctions, or all out war. World War II and the Cold War clearly symbolised the growing factions between socialism, fascism and capitalism. Each aimed to conquer the other. In the end, the

choice would be left to the ordinary people for their own version of “good governance” in the pursuit of happiness. Nationalism, as seen in the former Yugoslavia and the former Soviet Union, rose to prominence during the demise of Communism in 1989. For most, this landmark event was a time of celebration throughout the world as the age old battle between “Capitalist - West” and the “Communist - East” came to an end. This golden age in history promised people new hopes and aspirations, only to self-destruct, as fresh hatreds among old enemies resurfaced in the name of “Nationalism”. The war in Yugoslavia was the first of it’s kind to occur in mainland Europe since the Second World War. It was a war unlike any other. The term “ethnic cleansing” became the focal point of the war that threatened the very stability and cohesiveness of Europe. Each ethnic group was determined to exterminate the other in order to preserve their identity in an ever-changing globe (Primoratz, 1996).

### **The former Yugoslavia and the development of a heritage industry**

Ever since the 1945 liberation of Yugoslavia from Nazi, Croatian, Serbian and Italian Fascists, the importance of creating a national heritage has been seen as a necessity (Dentich, 1996). One of the ways Marshal Tito attempted to merge the heritage and culture of the five member nations of the Yugoslav Republic was to increase the number of museums and heritage sites dedicated to a common history. Yugoslavia, though, from its very fabrication was never a commonly desired entity as Coulson (1993) has correctly pointed out; the Communist party itself felt some ambivalence about the notion of Yugoslavianism. For example, ever since the 1961 census, the status of Yugoslav as a category was offered as one option among other possible national identities (i.e. Croat, Serb, Slovenian, Bosnian), but it was never recognized as a nationality and/or national identity (Korac, 1996). However, in June 1991 the Croatian and Slovenian governments declared independence from the Yugoslav Federation. What ensued was a war which lasted until 1996. Following the end of the war, the Croatian and Serbian intelligentsia committed what Dentich (1996) termed the utmost treason, in betraying their vocations whilst attempting to rewrite history in



an endeavor to offer their nation a new sense of belonging, identity, heritage, and a convenient and acceptable past.

It is fair to say that the link between history, culture, and the individual's perception of them self as located in space and time is a well-debated point (Cleere, 1989; Lowenthal, 1981; Byrne, 1991; Jenkins, 1991; Russell, 1993, Thomas, 1990; Bertens, 1995, Condoris, 1989; Hermann, 1989; West, 1990; Walsh, 1992; Simpson, 1993, Goulding, 1999). Within the former Yugoslavia, never before has this link been given greater attention. Researchers have looked into the devastating effects of the war on the identity of multiethnic individuals, placing the emphasis on the effects the war has had upon conceptions of belonging, identity and the past (Korac, 1996). A recurrent view is that societies in conflict seem to manifest symbols of national identity and 'otherness' (Korac, 1996). Indeed, in culturally diverse countries, ethnic diversity is sometimes seen as a threat to national identity (Jones 1997). Friis (1998) suggests that all collective identities are political, and the production of identity is a result of discursive struggle. Philips (1996) looks at the symbolic boundaries and the manner in which national community is conceptualised in terms of friends/enemies, internal/external, and so on. Such distinctions are further perpetuated through rituals and spectacles, which serve as a means of gaining social power (Mann, 1986).

The post war need for a Croat interpretation of the past has provoked a romanticized perception of Croatian history. This is reflected in a constant new stream of festivals celebrating battles fought and won in the civil war, and the idolization of, for example, the Ustashe Fascists, from the antecedent world war (Dentich, 1996). Faced by an enormous post-war need to understand and consume the past, and to rebuild a once thriving tourism infrastructure, the intelligencia and government have concentrated on museums and heritage sites (mainly towns), as a way of constructing and marketing history, in an image that reinforces the ideas of the day (Dentich, 1996).



## **The Research Question**

Given the lack of research concentrating on the visitor's concept of personal identity as affected by representations of history, the subject area still remains a relatively neglected topic. Due to the lack of research within the field and the importance of heritage and the past in socially/politically unstable structures coupled with the increase of interest by consumer research into the nature of consumption and identity, this research sets out to investigate the following question,

***What are the effects of heritage consumption upon individual identity formation within post civil war Croatia***

This research question needs to be answered and evaluated in the light of existing work. As I have stated above, there is a lack of integrated theory particularly within the area of individual identity as influenced by heritage sites. Consequently due to the lack of theory in the field, the notion of theory testing was rejected in favor of a theory building approach.

Bearing in mind the lack of material within consumer based accounts, the author had to make a decision regarding the aims of the study. These aims are largely based on my own personal interests/beliefs and my convictions regarding available/feasible approaches and methodologies for investigating this question.

It is a well-accepted fact today that no method will lead the researcher to indisputable truths, on the contrary, the method adopted will only illuminate one perspective drawn from a plethora of possibilities (Holloway & Wheeler, 1996). In order for this research to provide a credible perspective, the question, the methodology chosen and the aims of the research had to be closely integrated in as cohesive and logical manner as possible (Goulding, 1997). Upon reflection of the above, the aims of the thesis are as follows:

## **Aims of the Research**

- 1) To conduct a study, which will attempt to gain new insights and understanding of the Croatian consumer's attitudes to the past as influenced by representations of history.
- 2) To develop a theoretical explanation, which will elucidate the effects of heritage consumption upon individual identity formation within post civil war Croatia.
- 3) To apply and critically evaluate an interpretivist methodology to the study.
- 4) To build theory based on the "emic" perspectives, actions and experiences of the indigenous consumer of heritage.
- 5) To develop and incorporate these findings into a theoretical framework that has explanatory as well as descriptive power.

## **Choosing the Methodology**

### **Methodology: Critical Ethnographic historical Perspective**

The method that was used to investigate the above issues was Critical ethnography, a methodology particularly concerned with matters of culture, power, and sometimes conflict. As such, it is sometimes associated with critical theory (Muecke 1994). In this case, the focus of analysis centred around one country's attempt to develop a heritage product, which would communicate, legitimise, and inculcate a sense of national pride and cultural identity. Consequently, consideration had to be given to the fit between the research question, objectives, an appropriate methodology, and the orientation of the researcher (Hirschman 1985). While ethnography developed as a method from cultural anthropology with its focus on small-scale societies, the original central concept remains paramount today; that is a concern with the nature, construction and maintenance of culture. Ethnographies are always informed by this concept as ethnographers aim to look beyond what people say to understand the shared system of meanings we call 'culture'. Ethnography can be any full or partial description of a group (ethno - folk, graphy - description), as a means of identifying common threads, whether these are religion, social relationships or management style. Ethnographies may be cross sectional such as Goffman's (1961) study of Asylums which looked at a cross section of 'total' institutions (Fine and Martin 1990), or ethno historical, which describe the cultural reality of the present as the historical result of events in the past. They may be classified on the basis of spatial or geographic dimensions, by language, by theory, or in any number of diverse ways; there are few limitations to the cultural contexts to which it can be applied (Boyle 1994).

The product of ethnography may be either processual, which describes some aspect of the social experience, or 'classical' or 'holistic' ethnography, which focuses on entire social groups and includes descriptions of complete cultural systems and interactive processes. Conversely, the ethnography may be particularistic which is the study of any social 'unit' or isolatable human group. This form of ethnography involving fewer participants than normal is sometimes described as micro ethnography, but the need to describe and explain holistically remains constant. There are many variations of



ethnography, but Boyle (1994) lists three characteristics that are common to all. These are:

- 1) *It is holistic and contextual in nature.*
- 2) *It is reflexive in character.*
- 3) *It always involves the use of emic (insider perspective) and etic (outsider view) data.*

Holistic and contextual approaches involve placing observations into a larger perspective where people's behaviour can be understood in the context of meaning and purpose. Its objective is to move beyond description in an attempt to understand why behaviour takes place and under what conditions. In the light of this brief description, the essence of this research might be described as a micro (concerned with a particular aspect of culture), geographical (within a restricted context), ethno historical (an analysis of the influence of historical events on the present), critical (aiming to challenge and change the way we think) study.

The main aim of this research was to paint a rich picture of the post-war Croatian subject and to explore areas that have previously been ignored in studies of heritage visiting (Holloway and Wheeler, 1996). Through the application of an inductive, qualitative methodology, "Critical Ethnography", and constant participant observation at various field sites, an integrated theory of individual identity formation, which is both social and psychological in nature, will be presented. The sample of participants utilised for the study totalled 43 individual participants, of which 21 were Females and 22 Males. As a result of reflexive integration of both the data and the literature, a provisional six sub-categories of behaviour, which illuminated the effect of heritage consumption upon individual identity formation within a post war setting will be identified. The initial six sub-categories underwent the process of 'reduction' and were reduced to a final three (Miles & Huberman, 2000). These three categories, which constitute the developed theory are analysed in relation to the different ways of constructing meaning and experiences within the museum/heritage context. The labels assigned to each of the developed categories, the "Fragmented self", the "Paraphrenic self" and the "Enlightened Self" are a reflection of a part of the self, which identifies to varying extents with the ascribed post-war identity of "Croat".

## **Thesis structure**

The structure of this thesis can be divided into three distinct sections, which reflect this process of theory development (Goulding, 1997).

The first three chapters constitute the literature review and present the existing empirical work and the extant theory that have underpinned the analysis of the data. Unlike the more traditional positivist approach to research where a comprehensive and extensive literature search forms the basis for hypothesis testing, the incorporation of literature has been an ongoing integrative aspect of the research as an important part of theory building.

The second section traces the development of the methodological process, from the evaluation to the justification of the critical ethnographic methodology to the selections of research sites and finally to the application of that methodology in the field. It presents details of the methods used and offers examples of data in order to demonstrate how concepts and categories were developed.

The final section of this thesis presents the developed theory, discusses the contribution to knowledge and offers a critical evaluation of the process and methodology.

The following is a summary of each chapter:

### **CHAPTER ONE – The issue of “Consumption”**

Chapter one aims to provide a context for the thesis and embeds the research within the field of consumer behaviour and is divided into three parts.

The chapter starts with a discussion on consumerism and its role in our present realities. This is followed by a brief overview of the sequential progression from early production led consumption to the contemporary consumption led production ideology.



There is then a discussion on the origins of consumerism and consumer research. This is followed by an in depth look at the role of consumption in the ideological formation/de-structuring of the Cartesian subject's concept of identity through the consumption of products, images, services, culture, and the past.

Finally, the last section of the chapter aims to shed light on the link between culture and identity the consumption of the past, and identity formation through heritage consumption by the individual subject within the post civil war Croatian social structure.

## **CHAPTER TWO - IDENTITY**

Chapter two addresses the issue of “identity” by reference to a range of behaviour/identity and societal theories all of which will be compared and contrasted within the context of the former Yugoslavia/ Croatia. These theories enhanced the process of applying theoretical “sensitivity” to both the data collection and analysis stages of the PhD. Some were used to form a background to the study and made up part of the preliminary literature search, whilst others were included in the literature review after the data had been analysed and concepts developed.

## **CHAPTER THREE – Heritage Consumption: Manipulating the Past**

Chapter three addresses the issue of “heritage consumption”. The chapter summarises the theory circumvent to heritage consumption and highlights the motives and consequences of heritage manipulation within the East and West. It concludes with an in depth analysis of the interpretation of heritage within both pre civil war Yugoslavia and post civil war Croatia.

## **CHAPTER FOUR – THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

Chapter four aims to address the issue of “Research methodology” by reference to a range of theories, all of which were compared and contrasted within the context of the research. The chapter begins with a discussion of the nature and main characteristics of qualitative research. There is then a discussion on the qualitative/quantitative debate, which is followed by a debate on the main qualitative research methodologies from which one is selected as the methodology for the thesis. This is followed by a discussion on methods of data collection and interpretation, data analysis, interpretation of the findings and concludes with an analysis of why ethnography was selected as most suitable for this thesis.

## **CHAPTER FIVE – THE LOCATIONS OF THE STUDY**

Chapter five aims to address the issue of research locations or fieldsites, which were chosen in Croatia. The chapter aims to provide a rich picture of the sites, the reasons why they were chosen, their distinct cultural impact upon post war Croatia and their individual histories. The chapter starts with a description of the Palace of Diocletian in Split and its Roman influence. It continues with Solin and its Greek ancestry and progresses to Trogir the Venetian island fortress. It concludes with an overview of Zagreb and the Artistic Pavilion.

## **CHAPTER SIX – THE FINDINGS OF THE RESEARCH**

Chapter six addresses and presents the findings of the research, it begins with a visual model which develops an initial six sub categories of behaviour; these sub-categories of behaviour are broken down (reduced) and explained before discussing the final three explanatory categories which elucidate the behaviour of the post war heritage consumer in Croatia.

## **CHAPTER SEVEN – CONCLUSIONS AND EVALUATION OF PROCESS**

The final chapter is largely a summary of the findings and their location within a particular context. The chapter proceeds to present the contribution to knowledge made by the research. It offers an evaluation of the research process, discusses the limitations of the study, highlights the researcher learning process, suggests future areas for research and finally, concludes with a personal reflection into my position as to individual identity fragmentation as experienced by this former Yugoslav citizen.

# **Chapter One**

## **The issue of consumption**



## **Chapter1**

### **The issue of “Consumption”**

The subsequent chapter begins with a discussion of consumption and its role in our present realities; this is followed by a glance at the sequential progression from early production led consumption to the contemporary consumer led production ideology.

There will then be a discussion on the origins of consumerism and consumer research. This is followed by an in depth look at the role of consumption in the ideological formation/de-structuring of the Cartesian subject’s concept of identity through the consumption of products, images, services, culture, and the past.

Finally, the last section of the chapter will illuminate the link between Culture – Identity – the consumption of the past, and identity formation through heritage consumption by the individual subject within the post civil war Croatian social structure that is seeking to form a new sense of individual/ethnic identity.

**“You are what you consume”**

*Solomom, M. (1992: pp 211)*

### **From Production to Consumption**

In western developed societies culture is profoundly connected to and dependent upon consumption (McCracken, 1990). Without consumer goods, modern, developed societies would lose key instruments for the reproduction, representation, and manipulation of their culture. The meaning of consumption and the meaning creation accomplished by consumer processes are important parts of the scaffolding of our present realities. Without consumption, certain acts of self-definition and collective definition in our culture would become less possible since the subject would be bereaved of one vital element of expressing his/her identity.



According to Hall (1998) in recent years, a sociology of consumption has developed which has begun to acknowledge the fact that our lives are not solely determined by our relationship to the means of production or to where we work. The former productivist vision of modernity had seen the relations and experiences characteristic of work as fundamental to the shaping of social life and more precisely to the shaping of the individual subject. Sociologists have traditionally seen people's relationship to production as being the fundamental determinant of their life experience. The modern era has been more focused on developments in the production process and how it is that production imparts influence on social structures. Within the above context it is clear that consumption has for too long been perceived as a by-product of production. This concentration on production has in fact been counter productive in so far as important aspects of social life have for too long been neglected by sociologists/behaviourists. Lee, Gabriel and Lang (1995) state that,

*“several commentators have noted that the productivist vision of modernity is an oversimplification and that consumer goods/services have an active and significant role to play in the experience of social life ( Lee, 1993; Gabriel and Lang, 1995)*

*(Hall, 1998: pp 2)*

It might therefore be argued that consumer goods and services (such as heritage sites) play a crucial role in defining who we are and how we construct our social realities in terms of how we use such goods and services and how we relate to other people through such goods and services.

### **Constructing the self through consumption**

#### **Consuming the intrinsic Self**

Oswald (1999) states that consumer behaviour sheds light on current debates about the construction of consumer identity by means of the selection, purchase, and use of goods and services. As symbolic discourse invested with the wants, values, and drives

of the consuming self (Levy 1981), consumer behaviour forms a kind of mirror for the consumer. Researchers such as Belk, Wallendorf, and Sherry (Belk 1988; Belk, Sherry, and Wallendorf 1988; Belk, Wallendorf, and Sherry 1989) have explored how consumers project themselves onto possessions and consumption rituals and experience grief when such possessions and rituals are lost or replaced because of theft, fire, or change. Recent interpretive approaches to consumer research, including the work of Mick (1986), McCracken (1990), Wallendorf and Arnould (1991), and Hirschman and Holbrook (1992), begin with the premise that consumption constitutes a form of discourse, a road map of sorts for discovering deep, sometimes unconscious, values and beliefs driving consumer behaviour. Even brand-image research at the level of advertising is commonly driven by the assumption that brands must directly reflect the transcendent needs and wants of the target market.

Although, on the one hand, consumer behaviour is a kind of mirror for the self, on the other hand, consumption also constructs the self. Goods and services such as heritage sites are consumables that are to be loved, and hated and contribute to the social and psychological formation of the consumer and group culture. It is thus a matter for debate whether goods and services simply mirror, extend, or identify an always and already complete self, or whether they in fact construct self, culture, and identity, as Venkatesh and others claim (1996, p. 43). The subject of consumption resembles a two-way mirror that both reflects and internalizes symbols of consumer culture, giving new meaning to the old adage, "You are what you eat." As Cushman explains, "culture is not indigenous clothing that covers the universal human; it infuses individuals, fundamentally shaping and forming them and how they conceive of themselves and the world" (1990, p. 601).

Firat (1996, p. 112) claims that in consumer culture the line between economics and culture has broken down because culture forms a system of signs that can be acquired in the marketplace. One can change identities as he or she changes his or her external image. Since personal and social identity can be bought and sold, the human subject seems to have lost its authenticity. As Shields puts it, "A logic of identity is replaced by a more superficial, tactile logic of identification; individuals become more mask-like personae ... with mutable selves" (1992, p. 16).



The drive to consume parallels the psychological drive to close an original lack in the self by making one's own the signs and symbols of consumer culture (Oswald 1996). In this scheme of things, speech, dress, food, heritage, and other forms of consumption not only mirror the self but construct and deconstruct the self as it repeatedly seeks an identity through things. Consequently according to this perspective “being” is contingent on consuming. Shields goes so far as to say that consumers cruise the malls to go "lifestyle shopping" (1992, p. 2), to acquire the outward signs of culture for lack of a more permanent, inner identity. The same can also be said about ethnicity, consumers cruise around heritage sites to go “ethnicity shopping”, to construct/fill a gap in the self by adopting the images of an acceptable past.

### Consuming Culture

Culture has broad implications for consumption. The ethnic experience underscores the difficulty of organizing the meaning of goods and services into the kind of consensus-building system that Douglas and Isherwood (1979) envision, since the meaning of goods/services shifts in relation to the ethnic subject's movement between two or more cultural frames of reference. For example, when the post war Croatian subject visits a contemporary heritage site he/she not only shifts the frame of reference from Yugoslav to Croat, but also attempts to solidify his/her own links within a pre-Yugoslav time continuum, a time, which signified a period of independent Croatian rule.

### The Images of Consumption

Geertz (1983, p. 5) and De Vos and Romanucci-Ross (1975) reiterate that ethnicity is foremost a symbolic activity. Language, customs, representations of the past, religious beliefs, a sense of common origin, rules of comportment, and behaviours that contrast with those of outsiders all symbolize boundaries of inclusion and exclusion between social groups, levels and modes of belonging, leadership modalities, and social identity.



Although semiotics actually embraces linguistics as well as nonverbal forms of expression, researchers such as Sapir (1949) in America and Barthes (1968) in France modeled the semiotic analysis of culture on language structure (Oswald, 1999). More recently, Mick (1986, 1996) reviews the theoretical contributions of semiotics to consumer research, highlighting morphological features of advertising and consumer behaviour as texts that can be organized into a coherent system. Based as it is on a logic of the linguistic sign, Mick's semiotics falls short of explaining ethnic discourse, where contradictions between what the speaker means and what s/he says defy formal closure.

From Levi-Strauss (1973) to Douglas and Isherwood (1979) and even Geertz (1973), goods are the signifiers that make visible the signifieds, the categories of culture (Douglas and Isherwood 1979, p. 59). The categories themselves are taken for granted, as if they transcended the act of consumption as such.

Even recent developments in interpretive research, including psychological (Cohen 1989), semiotic, and anthropological approaches, perpetuate to some extent the ideal of a unified, rational subject of consumption. Belk (1988, p. 126) defends the notion of a transcendental "core" self, the "unextended self," which is extended when consumers project themselves into their possessions. Consumer goods then form the "extended self." McCracken (1990, p. 72), defines consumers and goods as "way stations of meaning" and cultural categories as "the conceptual grid" of the world of culture. "Cultural categories," he states, "determine how this world will be segmented into discrete, intelligible parcels and how these parcels will be organized into a larger coherent system" (p. 74). Although McCracken describes the transitory nature of "meaning transfers" from culture to goods, he defines meaning production as the substantiation of a cultural blueprint rather than as a tool forming culture itself. Therefore, McCracken's semiotics eludes questions of the culturally fragmented, ethnic self.

The same is true for structural and phenomenological interpretations of consumption. Levy (1981), for example, discusses consumer behaviour as a textual system ordered by a rational and consistent consciousness. In the realm of phenomenology,

Thompson, Locander, and Pollio (1989) discuss the first-person view of consumer experience and research methods for outlining broad patterns of meaning that emerge from consumer interviews. The author assumes that consumption is driven by the rational and predictable choice of social beings determined to create meaning out of disorder.

### Images that inspire Performance

In the post-war Croatian framework, consumption constitutes not only a symbolic text but a kind of theatrical space in which the ethnic subject plays out personal and social identity. Although Wallendorf and Arnould (1988, p. 531) point out a theatrical dimension of consumption when they say that "objects serve as the set and props on the theatrical stage of our lives," and Deighton (1992, p. 362) claims that "a product is merely the frozen potential for performance," it could be said that the acquisition and use of commodities/services (heritage sites) constitutes a form of performance, staging consumers (actors) in social rituals and contracts. This phenomenon can be theorized around a general semiotics of performance, a semiotics based not on the sign but on relations of subject-address and reference in discourse (see Oswald 1989, pp. 1-32). Here, as much emphasis would be placed on competing references for indexes (such as we, us, here, and there) in consumer discourse as on the symbolic dimension of services provided by contemporary Croatian heritage sites.

### The Synchronic Order of Commodities

Performance entails a kind of staging of speakers--social actors--in the here and now of the communication event. Benveniste (1971, pp. 205-216) highlights the classical notion of deixis (narration) as opposed to the more familiar notion of mimesis (imitation) to account for this "staging." Unlike conventional signs, which signify transcendent meanings (the word "apple," e.g., conjures up the idea of the fruit for an anglophone without referring to a specific apple), indexes signify nothing so much as to anchor discourse in the pragmatic context or "real" of the speaking event.

Consumer goods function like synchronic indexes when they transcend their symbolic meaning and point to spatial and logical relations binding performers in the



consumption ritual. Gift giving is a case in point. As Sherry, McGrath, and Levy (1992, 1995) point out, the circulation of gifts between sender and receiver and, in some cases, back to the store or another destination, is often more telling than the symbolism of the gift itself, although the symbolism of the gift may determine why it was purchased or returned. The gift articulates relations between several consumption contexts, including the purchase, as well as giving and receiving rituals. Furthermore, as Sherry et al. (1995) observe, self-gifts, rewards we indulge in for various reasons, articulate differences between parts of a self divided into both subject and object, giver and receiver, of the gift ritual. In other words, the mimetic function of goods (i.e., what they mean) works in tandem with the deictic function--how they shape social relations and personal identity in a given context.

However, researchers often take for granted the spatial, deictic function of cultural symbols and focus on mimetic correspondences between behaviour and meaning. Geertz (1973, p. 443), for example, interprets the Balinese cockfight as a symbolic abstraction of Balinese culture: "It catches up these themes--death, masculinity, rage, pride, loss, beneficence, chance--and, ordering them into an encompassing structure presents them in such a way as to throw into relief a particular view of their essential nature." By contrast, in the ethnic household the essential nature of things no sooner emerges than it shifts into something else: cultural symbols are not always what they seem to be. For example, following the death of Franjo Tudgman, Tito's popularity has once again soared in Croatia. Some Croats now openly display pictures of the Marshall in their homes, even though they state they are "NOT" Yugoslav's and have no wish to ever become so. All Croats speak "Yugoslav" even though they identify themselves as being Croat.

Such apparent contradictions on the level of the message can be explained in terms of a conflict between the meaning and reference of discourse, a conflict that occurs when goods as signs are moved out of their original context and dropped into a foreign one. In the unsettling Yugoslav war of mass socio-political upheavals, Croat consumers use products/services to negotiate differences between "their" culture and "others" culture while forging an identity derived from those differences. In this sense, ethnicity is a kind of model for a post-war interpretation of consumption, since the



meaning of goods/images in the Croat household has less to do with the "essential nature of things" (Geertz 1973, p. 443) than with the difficulty of fixing the essence of things and the identity of the consumer.

### Culture as a Consumable Commodity

As members of a newborn nation use the past to forge a new identity, they also wear their ethnic identity as a kind of garment, a commodity that can be purchased, sold, discarded, or traded as the situation demands (Oswald, 1999). In the process, ethnicity loses its anchor in living culture, becoming an accessory rather than a core element of the self.

Recent advances in consumer research emphasize the fragmentation of the self (Firat and Venkatesh 1995), the collapse of traditional demographic categories such as age, race, and economic status (Schouten and McAlexander 1995) and the instability of brand symbolism (Willis 1991). At stake in a postmodern interpretation of consumption is the metaphysical foundation of structural semiotics and the assumption that what you see in consumer behaviour is what you get. By extending the postmodern debate into the area of ethnic consumption, authors such as Costa and Bamossy (1996), Bouchet (1996), and Venkatesh (1996) look at ways consumers perform culture across the differences, segmenting markets by culture of origin.

Firat (1996, p. 107) points out that in postmodern consumer culture, ethnicity has been commodified, alienated from history, reified, and reduced to a set of symbols circulating on the global market and available to everyone. One does not have to come from Italy in order to consume Italian food, enjoy Italian music, and so on, since such products are available in the worldwide market. Thus, when Franjo Tudgman encouraged by Croatian intellectuals, decided to reconstruct the Croatian language as an anti-Serb move, he was commodifying the indigenous culture. This meant isolating Croatian culture from its social and historical roots and reducing it to a kind of brand image symbolized by language, food, genetic superiority, and the Croatian coat of arms. Reframing Costa and Bamossy's (1996, p. 12) example. "an individual consuming a cup of Turkish coffee with other Turkish immigrants is expressing

ethnicity." But at what point does drinking Turkish coffee cease to be the direct expression of Turkish identity and become a symbol for exoticism, sophistication, or even alienation among Turks and non-Turks alike?

Bouchet (1996) points out that in consumer culture the very notion of ethnicity differs from earlier concepts based on a dialectic of assimilation and differentiation, since ethnic consumption often has more to do with image than with reference to a social group. The semiotic order of goods, rather than their strictly economic function, transcends national cultures, collapsing boundaries between the nation-state and its "others," and enables consumers to shop for ethnicity the way they shop for the latest fashion. Bouchet (1996, p. 73) calls consumers bricoleurs in as much as they piece together an identity in this way, without a map or structural grid. Second-generation immigrants, says Bouchet, are particularly apt to use consumption to forge a comfortable self-concept that differs both from their parents and from the mainstream. By emphasizing the role of individual choice in the construction of ethnic identity, Bouchet underscores the performative dimension of consumption, in contrast to Abner Cohen (1974, p. ix), who emphasizes the social dimension of ethnicity and the inevitability of ethnic identity imposed from without.

First-generation members of a newborn nation are nonetheless affected by bricolage, to the extent that global consumer culture appropriates their ethnicity into mass consumer culture in the form of brands and lifestyle choices. This is the order of the simulacrum, as Baudrillard (1993, pp. 51-52) puts it, where the copy (the brand) becomes more real than the original and even places in question the very notion of an origin. In this order of things, the contemporary consumer of Croatian heritage who is staring at a portrait of Ban Yelachich or Ante Pavelich might not be expressing ethnic origins so much as the alienation of Croat ethnicity from living culture. Firat (1996, p. 120) questions the authenticity of all such traditions, asking, "Is a culture that ensures its livelihood through commodifying its qualities preserving what it originally was, or is it preserving something different from the original although resembling it in some respects? Is it at all possible to think of a stable or stagnant cultural or self identity?"



## Culture, self- identity and the consumption of heritage

Dittmar (1992) proposes that the contents of the impressions we form of others in different material circumstances and the sometimes, contradictory beliefs that are formed through linking possessions and activities to identity can be viewed as a reflection of dominant representations which are related to societal power relations.

According to Cushman (1990),

*“From its beginnings, modern psychology has had difficulty developing a historically situated perspective on its discourses and practices. Nowhere is this “a-historical” tendency more obvious than in the debate about individualism and the “self””.*

Cushman defines the “self” as,

*“The concept of the individual as articulated by the indigenous psychology of a particular cultural group. There is no universal transhistorical self, only local selves; no universal theories about the self, only local theories”*

*Cushman (1990, p 599)*

Laenen (1989) argues that the main reason for the massive interest in heritage consumption and the past by the individual subject can be located in the moral, social and identity crisis experienced by the “self” over the past decades. He maintains that in post war Europe most basic or lower order needs such as shelter, food and health care have been met, but he questions, what of the intellectual, social, emotional and aesthetic needs? Although the latter depend on the former, there is no automatic crossover. On the contrary, the cultivation of material welfare has in many cases resulted in large-scale mass production and uniformity rather than setting the conditions for individual self-fulfilment. Goulding (1997, pp 63) states that “such conditions are endemic in modern society and contribute toward alienation and fragmentation of the “self”.



Davis (1979), on the subject of nostalgia states that this colossal interest within the heritage sector is overwhelmingly age centred; he claims that in western societies it is adolescence and early adulthood that tend to evoke the emotion of “nostalgia”. This manifests itself in a desire to return to the time associated with few complications and exciting explorations. Therefore if we consider this nostalgic longing as a motivator to locate and partially cultivate the “self” through the medium of the heritage site, it may well be argued that those most given to nostalgic remembrance and retrospective sentimentality in western Europe are the aged. This should also be seen in the light of the developing heritage industry, much of which is dedicated to events, and reactions derived from contemporary history, and therefore individual “pasts”. In the constantly fluctuating Eastern block though it is not just the aged that exhibit a passionate interest in heritage consumption and the past (Korac, 1996; Denitch, 1996). The young who have been left with a sense of fragmentation and loss of individual/ethnic identity due to the national instabilities within the last decade (Denitch, 1996) have taken an even more active interest in the field through the employment of heritage consumption for the intention of relocating their personal identity and ethnos within the natural time flux continuum. This is an issue, however that will be discussed in greater detail in the following section.

This chapter has provided a context for the thesis and embeds the research within the field of consumer behaviour. The chapter began with a discussion on consumerism and its role in our present realities, which was followed by a brief overview of the sequential progression from early production led consumption to the contemporary consumption led production ideology. There was then a discussion on the origins of consumerism and an ephemeral look at the most influential writers within the field of consumption/consumer research. This was in turn followed by an in depth look at the role of consumption in the ideological formation/de-structuring of the Cartesian subject’s concept of identity through the consumption of products, images, services, culture, and the past. Finally, the last section of the chapter shed light on the link between culture/identity and the consumption of the past, and identity formation through heritage consumption by the individual subject within the post civil war Croatian social structure.

The following chapter aims to address the issue of “identity” by reference to a range of behaviour/identity and societal theories all of which will be compared and contrasted within the context of the former Yugoslavia/Croatia. These theories enhanced the process of applying theoretical “sensitivity” to both the data collection and analysis stages of the thesis. Some were used to form a background to the study and made up part of the preliminary literature search, whilst others were included in the literature review after the data had been analysed and concepts developed.

## **Chapter Two**

### **Identity**



## Chapter Two Identity

### Human Identity in Question

The question of “identity” is being dynamically discussed in social theory. According to Hall (1992), the argument is that the classic, or old identities, which stabilized the social world for so long are in decline, giving rise to new identities and thus fragmenting the modern individual as a unified subject. These new identities are presenting themselves in all geographical areas, mostly in the Eastern block but also in the west (for example Scotland’s recent separation from British federal control). This so called “crisis of identity” is seen as part of a wider process of change which is dislocating the cultural structures and processes of modern societies and undermining the frameworks which gave individuals a stable anchorage in the social world.

A distinctive type of structural change is transforming modern societies in the late twentieth century (Hall, 1992). This is fragmenting the cultural landscapes of class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, race and nationality which gave us firm locations as social individuals. These transformations are also shifting our personal identities, undermining in the process our sense of ourselves as integrated subjects. This loss of a stable “sense of self” is sometimes called the dislocation or de-centring of the subject (Hall, 1992). This set of double displacements - de-centring individuals both from their place in the social and cultural world, and from themselves – constitutes a “crisis in identity” for the individual. As the cultural critic, Kobena Mercer, observes,

*“identity only becomes an issue when it is in crisis, when something assumed to be fixed, coherent and stable is displaced by the experiences of doubt and uncertainty”*

*(Mercer, 1990, p.43)*

Stewart Hall (1992, p275) states that “in what is at times described as our post-modern world, we are also “post” any fixed, universal or essential conception of identity - something which, since the enlightenment, has been taken to define the very core or essence of our being, and to ground our existence as human subjects”.

In order to fully explain this modern crisis in identity I shall first examine a number of definitions of identity and the character of change in late modernity.

### **The three concepts of identity**

Hall (1992) in his book titled “Modernity and its Futures” distinguishes three very different conceptions of identity: 1) Enlightenment subject, 2) Sociological subject and 3) Post-modern subject.

1) The Enlightenment subject is based on a notion of the human subject as a fully centred, unified individual, endowed with the capacities of reason, consciousness and action, whose “centre” was made up of an inner core which first materialized when the subject was born, and unfolded with it, while always remaining essentially the same – continuous or “identical” with itself – throughout the individual’s existence. The essential centre of the self was the subject’s identity. As you can see, this is a very individualist or enlightened conception of the subject and excludes all external influences upon human behaviour (politics, religion, culture, social factors) and is thus relatively naïve.

2) The concept of the Sociological subject reflects the growing complexity of the modern world and the conscious awareness that this inner core of the subject was not completely autonomous and self-sufficient, but was formed and reformed in relation to “significant others”, who mediated to the subject the values, meanings and symbols – the culture – of the world/nation he/she inhabited. G.H. Mead, C.H. Cooley, and the symbolic interactionists are the key figures in sociology who elaborated this “interactive” conception of identity and the self and this definition of identity has become the classic, accepted sociological conception of the issue. According to this view identity is formed through the interaction between the individual and society. The subject still has an inner core or essence that is “the real me”, but this is formed and modified in a continuous dialogue with the cultural worlds “outside” and the identities which they offer.



Identity in the sociological conception, bridges the gap between the “inside and the outside” – between the personal and the public worlds which he/she exists within. The fact that we project ourselves into these cultural identities, at the same time internalising their meanings and values, making them “part of us”, helps to align our subjective feelings with the objective places we occupy in the social and cultural world (Abbercrombie, Hill, Turner, 1988). Identity thus stitches the subject into the structure. It stabilizes both subjects and the cultural worlds they occupy, making both reciprocally more unified and predictable.

The human subject previously experienced as having a unified and stable identity, is becoming fragmented; composed, not of a single but of several sometimes contradictory or unresolved identities (as is particularly noticeable in the case of multi ethnic individuals, especially children). Correspondingly, the identities which composed the social landscapes “out there”, and which ensured our subjective conformity with the objective “needs” of the culture, are breaking up as a result of structural and institutional change. The very process of identification, through which we project ourselves into our cultural identities, has become more open-ended, variable and problematic.

3) The Post-modern subject is conceptualised as having no fixed, essential or permanent identity. Identity becomes a “moveable feast” (Hall, 1994): formed and transformed continuously in relation to the ways we are represented or addressed in the cultural systems which surround us (Hall, 1987). It is historically, not biologically defined. The subject assumes different identities at different times, identities which are not unified around a coherent “self”. Within us are contradictory identities, pulling in different directions, so that our identifications are continuously being shifted about. If we feel we have a unified identity from birth to death, it is only because we construct, or have constructed for us by significant others, a comforting story or “narrative of the self” about ourselves (Hall 1990). The fully unified, complete, secure and coherent identity is a fantasy as I, an individual of multi ethnic origins, have experienced on a personal level. Instead, as the systems of meaning and cultural representation multiply, we are confronted by a bewildering, fleeting multiplicity of possible identities, any one of which we could identify with – at least temporarily.



### **Identity as affected by modernity**

The three conceptions of identity briefly outlined above have slowly developed through time but have been largely spurred on by modernity or “Globalisation”. Giddens (1990) states that,

*The modes of life brought into being by modernity have swept us away from all traditional types of social order in quite unprecedented fashion. In both their extensionality (external aspects) and their intensionality (internal aspects) the transformations involved in modernity are more profound than most sorts of change characteristic of prior periods. On the extensional plane they have served to establish forms of social interconnection which span the globe; in intentional terms they have come to alter some of the most intimate and personal features of our day to day existence.*

*Giddens, 1990, p 21*

David Harvey (1989, p12) speaks of modernity as not only entailing “a ruthless break with any or all preceding conditions”, but as “characterized by a never ending process of internal ruptures and fragmentations within itself”. Laclau (1990) argues that late modern societies are characterized by difference; they are cut through by different social divisions and social antagonisms which produce a variety of different “subject positions” – i.e. identities – for individuals. If such societies hold together at all, it is not because they are unified, but because their different elements and identities can, under certain circumstances, be articulated together. But this articulation is always partial: the structure of identity remains open. According to Laclau without this there would be no history. Laclau argues that dislocation has positive features as well. It unhinges the stable identities of the past, but it also opens up the possibility of new articulations – the forging of new identities, the production of new subjects, and what he calls the “recomposition of the structure around particular nodal points of articulation” (Laclau, 1990, p.40).

All three of the theorists that have been looked at (Giddens, Harvey, Laclau) offer a different view on the nature of change in modernity, but what all three seem to agree and place emphasis on is the discontinuity, fragmentation, rupture and dislocation brought about by the modern age.

At this point the author shall now look into more depth at how the concept of identity is said to have shifted, from that of the enlightenment subject to that of the sociological and then the post-modern subject. Following that the author will explore that aspect of modern cultural identity, which is formed through one's membership of a national culture – and how the process of dislocating change, is affecting it.

### **The rise and fall of precedent conceptions of human identity**

It is now a commonly held view that the modern age gave rise to a new and decisive form of individualism, at the heart of which stood a new conception of the individual subject and its identity. This does not mean that people were not individuals in pre-modern times, but that individuality was both “lived”, “experienced” and “conceptualised” differently (Hall, 1992).

Raymond Williams (1976) states that the modern history of the individual subject brings together two distinct meanings: on the one hand, the subject is “indivisible” – an entity which is unified within itself and cannot be further divided; on the other, it is also an entity which is “singular, distinctive and unique” (pp 133-135).

Hall (1992), states that much of the history of Western philosophy consists of reflections on, or refinements of, this conception of the subject, its powers and capacities. One prominent figure who gave this conception its primary formulation was the French philosopher, Rene Descartes (1596-1650). Descartes was at times referred to as “the father of modern philosophy”. Descartes was a mathematician and scientist, the founder of analytic geometry and optics, and deeply influenced by the “new science” of the seventeenth century. He was troubled by that profound doubt



which displaced God from the centre of the universe; and the fact that the modern subject was “born” amidst metaphysical doubt and scepticism reminds us that it was never as settled and unified as this way of describing it suggests (Forester, 1987). Descartes hypothesized two distinct substances – spatial substance (matter) and thinking substance (mind). He thus re-focused that great dualism between “mind” and “matter” which has troubled western philosophy ever since. Things must be explained, he believed, by reducing them to their very essentials. At the centre of “mind” he placed the individual subject, constituted by its capacity to reason and think. “Cogito, ergo sum” was Descartes watchword: “ I think, therefore I am”, but even though the subject’s soul was capable of genuine thought the subject’s body (matter) was external controlled by institutional influences (church, state). Ever since, this conception of the rational, cogitative and conscious subject at the centre of knowledge has been known as “the Cartesian subject”.

A further critical contribution was made by John Locke (1667) who in his essay “Concerning Human Understanding”, defined the individual in terms of “the sameness of a rational being” – that is, an identity which remained the same and which was continuous with its subject: “as far as this consciousness can be extended backwards to any past action or thought, so far reaches the identity of that person” (Locke, 1667, pp 212-213). This conceptual figure or discursive device – the “sovereign individual” – was embedded in each of the key processes and practices which made the modern world.

Raymond Williams (1976) further develops the argument by embedding the modern subject in the practices and discourses of modernity in the following passage:

*The emergence of notions of individuality, in the modern sense, can be related to the break up of the medieval social, economic and religious order. In the general movement against feudalism there was a new stress on man’s personal existence over and above his place or function in a rigid hierarchical society. There was a related stress, in Protestantism, on a man’s direct and individual relation to God, as opposed to this relation mediated by the church. But it was not until the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that a new mode of analysis, in logic and mathematics, postulated the individual as the substantial entity from which other categories and*



*especially collective categories were derived. The political thought of the enlightenment mainly followed this model. Argument began from individuals, who had an initial and primary existence, and laws and forms of society were derived from them: by submission, as in Hobbes; by contract or consent, or by the new version of natural law, in liberal thought. In classical economics, trade was described in a model which postulated separate individuals who[possessed property] decided, at some starting point, to enter into economic and commercial relations. In Utilitarian ethics, separate individuals calculated the consequences of this or that action which they might undertake.*

*Williams, 1976, pp 135-136*

Now the individual entrepreneur of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* or even of Marx's *Capital* was transformed into the corporate conglomerates of the modern economy. The individual citizen became enmeshed in the beurocratic administrative machineries of the modern state.

There are two other major developments which have contributed to articulating a broader set of conceptual foundations for the modern subject. The first was Darwinian biology. The human subject was "biologized" – reason was given a basis in nature, and mind "ground" in the physical development of the human brain.

The second development emerged with the rise of new social sciences. However, the transformations which this set in motion were uneven. These were:

- a) The "autonomous individual", with his wants, needs, desires and interests remained the central figure in the discourses of both modern economics and the law.
- b) The dualism characteristic of Cartesian thought was institutionalised in the split in the social sciences between psychology and the other disciplines. The study of the individual subject and its psychogenic processes became psychology's very own and distinct object of analysis.

- c) Sociology provided a critique of the “rational individualism” of the Cartesian subject. It located the individual in collective or cooperative processes and the group norms, which, it argued, underpin any contract between individual subjects. It therefore developed an alternative account of how individuals are formed subjectively through their membership of, and participation in, wider social relationships; and, conversely how processes and structures are sustained by the roles which individuals play in them. This “internalising” of the sociological forces in the subject, and “externalising” of the inside through action in the communal world, is the primary sociological account of the modern subject, and is encapsulated in the theory of socialization. The integration of the individual into society has been a long-term concern of sociology. Theorists like Goffman were highly attentive to the way “the self” is presented in social situations, and how conflicts between these different social roles are negotiated. At a more macro sociological level, Parsons (1955) studied the “fit” or complementarity between “the self” and the social system, Parsons states that “personality is not born, but must be made through the socialisation process” (Parsons, 1955, p16). Nevertheless some critics would claim that mainstream sociology has retained something of Descartes dualism, especially in its tendency to construct the problem as a relation between two connected, but separate, entities: here, the individual subject and the social collective.

This interactive sociological model is very much the product of the first half of the nineteenth century, when the social sciences assumed their current disciplinary form. However, in the very same period, a more disturbed and disturbing picture of the subject and identity was beginning to emerge in the aesthetic and intellectual movements associated with the rise of postmodernism (Bocock & Thompson, 1992).

Here we find the figure of the isolated, exiled and estranged individual framed against the background of the anonymous and impersonal crowd or metropolis. Examples include the poet Baudelaire’s famous portrait of the “painter of modern life”, who sets up his house “in the heart of the multitude. amid the ebb and flow of motion, in the midst of the fugitive and the infinite” and who “becomes one flesh with the crowd”,



enters into the crowd “as though it were an immense reservoir of electrical energy”; the flaneur (or “idle stranger”), who wanders amid the new shopping arcades watching the passing spectacle of the metropolis, whom Walter Benjamin celebrated in his essay on Baudelaire’s Paris, and whose counterpart in late modernity is probably the tourist (Urry, 1990); “K”, the anonymous victim confronted by a faceless beurocracy in Kafka’s novel, *The Trial* (Kafka, 1998); and the host of estranged figures in Twentieth century literature and social criticism who are meant to represent the unique experience of modernity (Hall, 1992). Several such “exemplary instances of modernity”, as Frisby calls them, people the pages of major turn-of-the-century social theorists like George Simmel, Alfred Schutz and Siegfried Kracauer, all of whom tried to capture the essential features of modernity in famous essays/novels on “The Stranger” or “Outsider” (Frisby, 1985, p.109). These images proved to be visionary of what was to occur to the Cartesian and sociological subject following the rise of consumerism and consumption as a way of life in late-modern life.

### **Un-Centring the Cartesian subject**

Those who believe that modern identities are being continuously and perpetually fragmented claim that what has happened in late modernity to the conception of the modern subject is not simply its separation, but its un-centering or dislocation. This dislocation can be traced through a series of ruptures in the discourses of modern knowledge. In this section, the author shall offer a brief sketch of five great advances (Marx, Freud, Ferdinand de Saussure, Michael Foucault, Feminism) in social theory and the human sciences which have occurred in, or had their major impact upon, thought in the period of late modernity (the second half of the twentieth century), and whose main effect, it is argued, has been the final de-centering of the Cartesian subject.

1) According to Hall (1992) the first of the major De-centrings concerns the ideology of Marxist thinking. Marxism displaced any notion of individual agency. The Marxist structuralist, Louis Althusser (1918-89) (discussed by Kenneth Thompson) (Bocock



& Thompson, 1992); argued that by placing social relations, such as modes of production, exploitation of labour power, the circuits of capital, rather than an abstract notion of man at the centre of his theoretical system, Marx displaced two key propositions of modern philosophy: 1) that there is a universal essence of man, 2) that this essence is the attribute of “each single individual” who is its real subject:

*These two postulates are complementary and indissoluble. But their existence and their unity presuppose a whole empiricist-idealist world outlook. By rejecting the essence of man as his theoretical basis, Marx rejected the whole of this organic system of postulates. He drove the philosophical category of the subject, of empiricism, of the ideal essence from all the domains in which they had been supreme. Not only from political economy (rejection of the myth of homo economicus, that is, of the individual with definite faculties and needs as the subject of the classical economy); not just from history; ..... Not just from ethics (rejection of the Kantian ethical idea); but also from philosophy itself.*

*Althusser, 1966, p.228*

This “theoretical revolution” was, of course, contested by many humanistic theorists who give greater weight in historical explanation to human agency. One undeniable fact remains about the work of Althusser, it has had a substantial impact on many schools of modern thought.

2) The subsequent of the great de-centrings in twentieth century thought stems from Freud’s discovery of the individual subject’s unconscious. Freud’s theory that our identities, our sexuality, and the structure of our desires are formed on the basis of the psychic and symbolic processes of the unconscious, which functions according to a “reasoning” very different to that of logic, plays havoc with the concept of the knowing and rational subject which has a permanent and unified identity. This aspect of Freud’s work has also had a profound impact on modern thought in the last three decades. Psychoanalytic thinkers such as Jacques Lacan, for example, (Bocock & Thompson, 1992) read Freud as saying that the image of the self as a “whole” and

unified is something, which the infant gradually, partially, and with great difficulty, learns. It does not grow naturally from inside the core of the infants being, but is formed in relation to others; especially in the complex unconscious psychic negotiations in early childhood between the child and the powerful fantasies, which it has of its parental figures. Lacan states that in the “Mirror Phase” of development, the infant who is not yet coordinated, and possesses no self image as a “whole” person, sees or “imagines” itself reflected - either literally in the mirror, or figuratively, in the “mirror” of the other’s look – as a “whole person” (Lacan, 1977).

This creation or formation of the self in the “look” of the other, according to Lacan, opens the child’s relation with symbolic systems outside itself, and is thus the moment of the child’s entry into the various systems of symbolic representation – including language, culture and sexual difference. The contradictory and unresolved feelings which accompany this difficult entry – the splitting of love and hate for the father, the conflict between the wish to please and the impulse to reject the mother, the division of the self into its “good” and “bad” parts, the disavowal of the masculine/feminine parts of oneself, and so on - which are the key aspect of this “unconscious formation of the subject” and which leave the subject “divided” remain with one for life. However, though the subject is always split or divided it experiences its own identity as being held together and “resolved”, or unified, as a result of the fantasy of itself as a unified “person” which it formed in the mirror phase. This, according to this kind of psychoanalytic thinking, is the contradictory origin of “identity” (Hall, 1992).

Identity is actually something created and re-created through unconscious processes over time, rather than being innate in consciousness at birth. There is always something “imaginary” or fantasized about its unity. It always remains incomplete, is always “in process”, always being formed. Thus, rather than speaking of identity as a finished thing, we should speak of identification, and see it as an ongoing process. Identity arises, not so much from the fullness of identity which is already inside us as individuals, but from a lack of wholeness which is “filled” from outside us, by the ways we imagine ourselves to be seen by others (Hall, 1992). Psychoanalytically speaking, the reason why we continually search for “identity”, constructing biographies which knit together the different parts of our divided selves into a unity, is to recapture this fantasized pleasure of fullness (plentitude).



Once more, Freud's work, and that of the psychoanalytic thinkers like Lacan who read him in this way, has been widely contested. By definition unconscious processes cannot be easily seen or examined. They have to be inferred by the elaborate psychoanalytic techniques of reconstruction and interpretation and are not easily amenable to "proof". Nevertheless, their general impact on modern ways of thought has been considerable. Much modern thinking about subjective and psychic life is "post Freudian", in the sense that it takes Freud's work on the unconscious for granted, even when it rejects some of his specific hypothesis. Overall Freud with his theories on the human subconscious significantly harms any notions of a rational subject.

3) In contrast Ferdinand de Saussure positions the development of identity as a product of communication. Ferdinand de Saussure argued that we are not in any absolute sense the "authors" of the statements we make or of the meanings we express in language (Hall & Gieben, 1992). We can only utilise language to produce meanings by positioning ourselves within the rules of language and the systems of meaning of our inherent cultures. Language according to Saussure is a social and not an individual system. It pre-exists us and thus we cannot in any simple sense be its authors. To speak a language is not only to express our innermost, original thoughts, it is also to activate the vast range of meanings which are already embedded in our language and cultural systems.

Furthermore the meanings of words are not fixed in a one-to-one relation to objects or events in the world outside language. Meaning arises in the relations of similarity and difference which words have to other words within the language code. Hall (1992) states that according to Saussure we know what "night" is because it is not "day". Notice the analogy here between language and identity, I know who "I" am in relation to "the other" ( another nation) whom I cannot or might not want to be. As Lacan would say, identity, like the unconscious, "is structured like language". Modern philosophers of language like Jaques Derrida who have been influenced by Saussure and the "linguistic turn", argue that, despite his/her best efforts the individual speaker can never finally fix meaning – including the meaning of his or her identity. Words are "multi-accentual". Words have always carried echoes of other meanings which



they trigger off, despite one's best efforts to close meaning down. Our statements are underpinned by propositions and premises of which we are not aware, but which are, so to speak, carried along in the bloodstream of our language. Everything we say has a "before" and an "after" – a "margin" in which others may write. Meaning is inherently unstable: it aims for closure (identity), but is constantly disrupted (by difference). It is constantly sliding away from us. There are always supplementary meanings over which we have no control, which will arise and subvert our attempts to create fixed and stable worlds (Derrida, 1981).

4) The fourth of the great de-centrings of identity and the subject emerges in the work of the French philosopher and historian, Michel Foucault. Foucault isolates a new type of power, evolving throughout the nineteenth century, and coming to full power at the beginning of the twentieth century, which he labels as "disciplinary power" (Hall, 1992). Disciplinary power, according to Foucault, is concerned with the regulation, surveillance and government of, first, the human species or whole populations, and secondly, the individual and the body. Its sites are those new institutions which developed throughout the nineteenth century and which "police" and discipline modern populations – in workshops, barracks, schools, prisons, hospitals, clinics and so on (see, *Madness and Civilisation* (1967), *Birth of the Clinic* (1973), *Discipline and Punish* (1975)).

The primary intention of Foucault's disciplinary power is to bring "the lives, deaths, activities, work, miseries and joys of the individual", as well as his/her moral and physical health, sexual practices and family life under stricter discipline and control; bringing to bear on them the power of administrative regimes, the expertise of the professional, and the knowledge provided by the "disciplines" of the social sciences. Its basic purpose is to produce "a human being who can be treated as a "docile body"" (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982. p 135).

What is especially interesting from the point of view of the history of the modern subject is that, though Foucault's disciplinary power is the product of the new large-scale regulating collective institutions of late modernity, its techniques involve an application of power and knowledge which further "individualizes" the subject and bears down more intensely on his/her body:

*In a disciplinary regime, individualization is descending. Through surveillance, constant observation, all those subject to control are individualized ... not only has power now brought individuality, but power fixes that objective individuality in the field of writing. A vast meticulous documentary apparatus becomes an essential component of the growth of power [in modern societies]. This accumulation of individual documentation in a systematic ordering makes "possible the measurement of overall phenomena, the description of groups, the characterization of collective facts, the calculation of gaps between individuals, their distribution in a given population".*

*Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982, p 159*

It is not necessary to accept every detail of Foucault's picture of the all-encompassing character of the "disciplinary regimes" of modern administrative power to understand the paradox that, the more collective and organized is the nature of the institutions of late-modernity, the greater the isolation, surveillance and individuation of the individual subject.

5) The fifth major de-centring emerged within the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, it was called Feminism. Feminism belongs with that company of new social movements all of which surfaced within the 1960s – the great watershed of late modernity - alongside the student upheavals , the anti war and counter-cultural youth movements, the civil-rights struggles, the "Third World" revolutionary movements and the peace movements associated with "1968".

Feminism according to Hall (1992) had a more direct relation to the conceptual de-centring of the Cartesian and Sociological subject:

1. It enquired as to the classic distinction between "inside" and "outside", "private" and "public". Feminism's slogan was "the personal is political".



2. It therefore opened up to political contestation whole new arenas of social life – the family, sexuality, housework, the domestic division of labour, child rearing, etc (Bocock & Thompson, 1992).
3. It also exposed as a political and social question, the issue of how we are formed and produced as gendered subjects. That is to say, it politicised subjectivity, identity and the process of identification (as men/women, mothers/fathers, sons/daughters).
4. What began as a movement challenging the social position of women , expanded to include the formation of sexual and gendered identities.
5. Feminism challenged the notion that men and women were part of the same identity – “Mankind” – replacing it with the question of sexual difference.

Within this section the author has attempted to map the conceptual shifts by which the enlightenment “subject”, with a fixed and stable identity, was de-centred into the open, contradictory, unfinished, fragmented identities of the post modern subject, which have been traced this through the five great de-centrings. The author would like to remind the reader at this point that a great many social scientists and intellectuals do not accept the conceptual or intellectual implications of these developments within modern thought (Hall, 1992). However, few would now deny there deeply unsettling effect’s on late-modern ideas and, particularly, on how the subject and the issue of identity have come to be conceptualised.



## **Inserting The Fragmented Subject Within an all inclusive National Identity**

Having charted the conceptual shifts by which the late-modern subject or post-modern conceptions of the subject and identity have emerged, I shall now turn to the question of how this “fragmented subject” is placed in terms of its cultural identities. The particular identity my PhD is concerned with is that of individual identity as effected by ethnic heritage. What is happening to individual cultural/ethnic identity in late-modernity? This has to be seen in the context of collective identities.

In the modern world, the national cultures into which we are born are one of the principle sources of personal and cultural identity. In defining ourselves we sometimes say we are French or Yugoslav, Croat, Indian or Jamaican. Of course this is to speak metaphorically. These identities are not literally imprinted within our genetic makeup. However, we do consider them to be an essential part of our core natures. It has been argued by the conservative philosopher, Roger Scruton that:

*The condition of man requires that the individual, while he exists and acts as an autonomous being, does so only because he can first identify himself as something greater – as a member of a society, group, class, state or nation, of some arrangement to which he may not attach a name, but which he recognizes instinctively as home.*

*Scruton, 1986, p 156*

Ernest Gellner, from a more liberal position, also believes that without a sense of national identification the modern subject would experience a deep sense of subjective loss:

*The idea of a man (sic) without a nation seems to impose a [great] strain on the modern imagination. A man must have a nationality as he must have a nose and two ears. All this seems obvious, though, alas, it is not true. But that it should have come to seem so very obviously true is indeed an aspect, perhaps the very core, of the*

*problem of nationalism. Having a nation is not an inherent attribute of humanity, but it has now come to appear as such.*

*Gellner, 1983, p 6*

The argument that I will be working on here is that, in fact, national identities are not things we are born with, but are things that are formed and transformed within and in relation to representation. I only know what it meant to be Yugoslav because of the way Yugoslavness has come to be represented, as a set of meanings, by Yugoslav national culture. It follows that a nation is not only a political entity but something that produces meanings – a system of cultural representation. People are not only legal citizens of a nation; they participate in the idea of the nation as represented in its national culture. A nation according to Hall (1992) is a symbolic community and it is this, which accounts for its “power to generate a sense of identity and allegiance” (Schwarz, 1986, p 106).

National cultures are a distinctly modern form. The allegiance and identification which, in the pre modern age or in more traditional societies, were given to tribe, people, religion and region, came gradually, in Western societies, to be transferred to the national culture. Regional and ethnic differences were gradually subsumed beneath what Gellner (1986) calls the “political roof” of the nation state, which consequently became a powerful source of meanings for modern cultural identities.

The formation of a national culture helped to create standards of universal literacy, generalized a single vernacular language as the dominant medium of communication throughout the nation, created a homogenous culture and maintained national cultural institutions, such as a national educational system (Bocock & Thompson, 1992). In these and other ways, national culture became a key feature of industrialization and an engine of modernity. Nevertheless, there are other aspects to a national culture which pull it in a different direction, bringing to the fore what Homi Bhabha calls “the particular ambivalence that haunts the idea of the nation” (Bhabha, 1990, p 1). Some of these ambiguities will be explored at a later stage in my thesis; firstly though, I will look into how a national culture functions as a system of representation, and secondly



whether national identities are really as unified and homogenous as they represent themselves to be. It is only when these two questions have been answered, that I can properly consider the claim that national identities were once centred, coherent and whole, but are now being dislocated by the new world order.

### **The nation: an imagined community**

National cultures are not only composed of cultural institutions, but of symbols and representations. A national culture according to Hall (1992) is a discourse – a way of constructing meanings which influences and organizes both our actions and our conceptions of ourselves (Hall & Gieben, 1992). National cultures construct identities by producing meanings about “the nation” with which we can identify; these are contained in the stories which are told about it, memories which connect its present with its past, and images which are constructed of it. As Benedict Anderson (1983) has argued, national identity is an imagined community.

Anderson suggests that the differences between nations lie in the various ways in which they are imagined. But how is the modern day nation state imagined? What representational strategies are deployed to construct our commonsense views of national belonging or identity? What are the representations of “Croatia” which construct the identification and define the identities of “Croat” people? “Nations”, Homi Bhabha has remarked, “like narratives, lose their origins in the myths of time and only fully realize their horizons in the mind’s eye” (Bhabha, 1990, p. 1). So the next question we should now ask ourselves is, how is the narrative of the national culture told? Essentially there are the five main elements which centre around the following

- Initially there is the narrative of the nation, as it is told and retold in national histories, literatures, the media and popular culture. These provide a set of stories, images, landscapes, scenarios, historical events, national symbols and rituals which stand for, or represent, the shared experiences, sorrows, and triumphs and disasters which give meaning to the nation. As members of such

an “imagined community”, we see ourselves in our minds eye sharing in this narrative (Hall, 1992). It lends significance and importance to our everyday existence, connecting our everyday lives with a national destiny that pre-existed us and will outlive us (or so we are trained to believe). From Croatia’s 1200 islands, the Dalmatian coast, the chequered flag, new born nationalism, sporting triumphs, the mirage of “Croatianess” survives. It gives meaning to the concept of “being Croat” and fixes “Croatia” as a focus of identification for the Croatian people.

- Secondly, there is the importance of origins, continuity, tradition and timelessness. National identity is represented as primordial – “there, in the very nature of things”, sometimes slumbering, but ever ready to be “awoken” from its “long, persistent and mysterious somnolence” to resume its unbroken existence (Gellner, 1983, p. 48). The essentials of the national character remain unchanged through all the vicissitudes of history. It is there from birth, unified and continuous, “changeless” throughout all the changes, eternal.
- The third discursive strategy is what Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) call the invention of tradition: “traditions which appear or claim to be old are often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented ... “invented tradition” means, a set of practices, ... of a ritual of symbolic nature which seeks to include certain values and norms of behaviours by repetition which automatically implies continuity with a suitable historical past”. For example .. nothing appears to be more ancient than a language ... the Croatian language for example. Yet it is the product of deliberate ideological engineering and manipulation of the past within the last decade of the twentieth century (Nadj, 1996).
- The fourth illustration of the narrative of national culture is that of a foundational myth: a story which locates the origin of the nation, the people and their national character so early that they are lost in the mists of, not “real”, but “mythic” time – like basing the definition of the English as “free-born” on the Anglo-Saxon parliament. Invented traditions make the confusions and disasters of history intelligible, converting disarray into “community” (e.g. ethnic cleansing during the Yugoslav civil war) and



disasters into triumphs (e.g. Bosnia). Myths of origin also help disenfranchised peoples to “conceive and express their resentment and its contents in intelligible terms” (Hobsbawn & Ranger, 1983, p. 1). They provide a narrative in terms of which an alternative history or counter narrative, which pre-dates the ruptures of colonization, can be constructed (e.g. the existence of a sovereign “Croat” state before Yugoslav colonization). New nations are then founded on these myths such as the post war Croat republic (I carefully utilise the word “myths” since pre Yugoslav colonization there was never a Croatia (one nation) as post war politicians would have us believe, but many different tribal cultures and societies).

- Finally national identity is quite often symbolically grounded in the idea of a pure, original people or “folk”. But, in the realities of national development, it is rarely this primordial folk who persist or exercise power. As Gellner wryly observes, “when [the Ruritaniens] donned folk costume and trekked over the hills, composing poems in the forest clearings, they did not also dream of one day becoming powerful bureaucrats, ambassadors and ministers” (1983, p. 61).

The discussion of national culture is thus not as modern as it appears to be. It constructs identities, which are ambiguously placed between past and future. It straddles the temptation to return to former glories and the drive to go forward ever deeper into modernity. Sometimes national cultures or those that control national cultures are tempted to turn the clock back, to retreat defensively to that lost time when the nation was “great”, and as in the case of the Yugoslav wars, to restore past identities in the hope of recreating some of that lost “greatness”. This is regressive, the anachronistic, element in the national culture story. But often this very return to the past conceals a struggle to mobilize “the people” to purify their ranks, to expel the “others” who threaten their identity, and to gird their loins for a new march forwards. During the 1990’s, the rhetoric of Thatcherism sometimes inhabited both these aspects of what Tom Nairn calls the “janus-face” of nationalism (Nairn, 1977): looking back to past imperial glories and “Victorian values” while simultaneously undertaking a kind of modernization in preparation for a new stage of capitalist

competition. Something of the same kind has most definitely taken place within the Eastern Block. Areas breaking away from the former Soviet Union are reaffirming their essential ethnic identities and claim nationhood, buttressed by (sometimes extremely dubious) “stories” of mythic origins, religious supremacy, and highly questionable racial purity. Yet they may also be using the nation as the platform from which to compete with other “ethnic nations”, and (as in the case of Croatia) attempt to gain entry to the supposedly rich club of the West. As Immanuel Wallerstein has acutely observed, “the nationalisms of the modern world are the ambiguous expression [of a desire] for ... assimilation into the universal ... and simultaneously for ... adhering to the particular, the reinvention of differences. Indeed it is a universalism through particularism and particularism through universalism” (Wallerstein, 1984, pp. 166-167).

### **Identity and Difference**

Earlier on in this chapter I considered how a national culture functions as a source of cultural meanings, a focus of identification, and a system of representation. Within this section I aim to look at the question of whether national cultures and the national identities they construct are actually unified. In his essay on the topic, Ernest Renan states that three things constitute the spiritual principle of the unity of a nation: “... the possession in common of a rich legacy of memories, ... the desire to live together, [and] the will to perpetuate the heritage that one has received in an individual form” (Renan, 1990, p.19). The reader needs to bear in mind these three resonant concepts of what constitutes a national culture as an “imagined community”: [1) memories from the past; [2) the desire to live together; [3) the perpetuation of the heritage.

According to Timothy Brennan, the word nation refers “both to the modern nation state and to something more ancient and nebulous – the *natio* – a local community, domicile, family, condition of belonging” (Brennan, 1990, p. 45). National identities represented precisely the result of bringing these two halves of the national equation together – offering both membership of the political nation-state and identification with the national culture: “to make culture and polity congruent” and to endow



“reasonably homogenous cultures, each with its own political roof” (Gellner, 1983, p. 43).

To state it in the crudest form, however different its members may be in terms of class, gender or race, a national culture seeks to unify them into one cultural identity, to represent them all as belonging to one great national family. But is national identity a unifying identity of this kind, which cancels or subsumes cultural difference? Such an idea is open to doubt, for several reasons. A national culture has never been simply a point of allegiance, bonding and symbolic identification. It is also a structure of cultural power. Consider the following three points:

1. The majority of modern nations consist of disparate cultures, which were only unified by a lengthy process of violent conquest or necessity driven unifications – that is, by the forcible suppression of cultural difference. “The British people” are the product of such a series of violent conquests, the “Yugoslav” people, however, are the product of both necessity and violent conquest. Throughout Europe the story is repeated ad nauseam. Each conquest subjugated conquered peoples and their cultures, customs, languages and traditions and tried to impose a more unified cultural hegemony. As Renan (1990) has remarked, these violent beginnings which stand at the origins of modern nations have first to be forgotten before allegiance to a more unified, homogeneous national identity could begin to be forged. Thus “Yugoslav” culture did not consist of an equal partnership between the component cultures of the nation, but of the effective domination of the “Serbian culture” over the main Yugoslav states of Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia Herzegovina.
2. Secondly, nations are composed of different social classes, and gender and ethnic groups. Pre war Yugoslav nationalism was the product of a very concerted effort. After the second world war the classes were unified when Josip Broz Tito abolished the multi class system in favour of his very own form of communism. Tito offered the wide range of pre WWII social classes the common membership of “the family of the nation” or Yugoslavia as it was

called. The same point can be made about gender. National identities are strongly gendered. The meanings and values of “Yugoslavianism” and now “Croatianism” have always born powerful masculine associations. Women have always played a secondary role as guardians of hearth, kith and kin, and most importantly, as “mothers” of the nation’s sons.

3. Thirdly, some modern nations, as Yugoslavia used to be, were also the centres of empires or of neo-imperial spheres of influence, exercising cultural hegemony over the cultures of the colonized (Hall, 1992). My research findings strongly suggest that it was in this process of comparison between the “virtues” of “Yugoslavianism” and the negative features of the other cultures within Yugoslavia that many of the distinctive characteristics of post war “Croat” identity were first defined.

As an alternative to thinking of national cultures as unified, we should think of them as constituting a discursive device, which represents difference as unity or identity. They are cross cut by deep internal divisions and differences, and “unified” only through the exercise of different forms of cultural power. Yet – as the fantasies of the “whole” self of which Lacanian psychoanalysis speaks - national identities continue to be represented as unified.

One way of unifying them has been to represent them as the expression of the underlying culture of “one people”. Ethnicity is the term we give to cultural features – language, religion, custom, traditions, feeling for “place” – which are shared by a people (Hall, 1994). It is therefore tempting to try to use ethnicity in this “foundational” way, but this belief turned out, in the modern world, to be a myth. Most of the planet has no nations which are composed of only one people, one culture or ethnicity. Most nations are multicultural.

It is even more difficult to attempt to unify national identity around race. First, because – contrary to widespread belief – race is not a biological or genetic category with any scientific validity, as Cartesian thought would have us believe. There are different genetic strains or “pools”, but they are as widely dispersed within what are called “races” as they are between one “race” and another. Genetic difference – one of



the last refuges of Serbo-Croatian racist ideologies – generally cannot be used to distinguish one people from another. Race is a discursive and not a biological category. That is to say, it is the organizing category of those ways of speaking, systems of representation, and social practices (discourses) which utilize a often unspecified set of differences in physical characteristics – skin colour, hair texture, physical and bodily features etc, - as symbolic markers in order to differentiate one group socially from another.

The unscientific character of the term “race” does not undermine “how racial logics and racial frames of reference are articulated and deployed, and with what consequences” (Donal & Rattansi, 1992, p. 1). In recent years, biological notions of races as a distinct species have been replaced by cultural definitions of race, which allow race to play a significant role in discourses about the nation and national identity. Paul Gilroy has commented on the links between “cultural racism” and “the idea of race and the ideas of nation, nationality, and national belonging”, in England:

*We increasingly face a racism which avoids being recognized as such because it is able to line up “race” with nationhood, patriotism and nationalism. A racism which has taken a necessary distance from crude ideas of biological inferiority and superiority now seeks to present an imaginary definition of the nations as a unified cultural community. It constructs and defends an image of national culture – homogenous in its whiteness yet precarious and perpetually vulnerable to attack from enemies within and without ... this is a racism that answers the social and political turbulence of crisis and crisis management by the recovery of national greatness in the imagination. Its dream-like construction of our sceptered isle as an ethnically purified one provides special comfort against the ravages of [national] decline.*

*Gilroy, 1992, p. 87*

Even when “race” is utilised in this broader discursive way, modern nations stubbornly refuse to be dissolved into it. As Renan observed, “the leading nations of Europe are nations of essentially mixed blood”: France is Celtic, Iberic and Germanic. Germany is Germanic, Celtic and Slav. Yugoslavia was a country were Slavs, Avars,

Germanics, Greeks, Turks, Gauls, Etruscans, and Pelagians not to mention many other elements, intersect in a now undecipherable mixture. The British Isles, considered as a whole, present a mixture of Celtic and Germanic blood, the proportions of which are singularly ever more difficult to define with the passing of each generation (Renan, 1990).

### **The Foundation of Post WWII Yugoslavia** **Josip Broz Tito (1892 – 1980)**

Having traced the historical developments within theory circumvent to the subject of human identity, and documented its progressive development from the primitive state of the enlightenment subject, to the sociological subject, and finally to the fragmented post modern subject, I will now progress to the main subject of my thesis, Yugoslavia. In the following section I shall concentrate on how post WWII Yugoslav identity was developed, how this identity was projected to the people and finally how the Yugoslav dream came to an end, due to the ethnic tensions incurred through constraining ethnic identities and cultural heritage.

According to Magstadt & Schoten (1988) statesmen have appeared on the scene at many times and in many places throughout history. The four statesmen that are considered by many to be the most world-famous statesmen are the following,

- 1) Abraham Lincoln 1809 – 1865
- 2) Winston Churchill 1874 – 1965
- 3) Josip Broz Tito 1892 – 1980
- 4) Anwar el-Sadat 1918 – 1981

For the purpose of my thesis I shall concentrate on only one, Marshall Tito, the founding father of post WWII Socialist Yugoslavia. Josip Broz Tito was the leader of Communist Yugoslavia from 1943, and elected president of Yugoslavia from 1953 to his death in 1980. He is associated with the idea of “self managing socialism”, a



variant of the Soviet communism, and also with the non-aligned movement during the cold war, where many countries sided with neither the United States or the Soviet Union (Djilas, 1980).

He was born in 1892 in what was then Austria–Hungary (Now the border of Croatia and Slovenia) to a peasant family. At the age of 13 he joined the Social Democratic Party of Croatia and was soon after drafted into the Austro-Hungarian army during World War I, where he was wounded and taken prisoner on the Russian front. In 1914, Tito was arrested for spreading anti-war propaganda, and detained in jail, but the charges were eventually dropped (Auty, 1970). After the war he returned to Croatia (which had become Yugoslavia by then), where he worked to build the communist movement.

He lived in poverty, working in shipyards, and lost two children to hunger and lack of medical care. He was arrested in 1923, and again in 1925, when he served seven months in jail. In 1927, he became president of the Metalworkers Union of Croatia but was once again imprisoned as a subversive by the Yugoslav authorities from 1928 to 1934. Upon his release from prison in 1934, he became a member of the central committee of the communist party of Yugoslavia (CPY). Subsequently he travelled from Yugoslavia to Moscow, Paris, Prague and Vienna. He worked in Moscow in 1935 in the Balkan section of the comintern (Ulam, 1952) and participated in its seventh congress. In late 1936, Tito was named organizational secretary of the CPY politburo.

In 1937 Joseph Stalin, then premier of the Soviet Union initiated a purge of Yugoslav communists living in the Soviet Union, and about 800 were killed. The CPY as well as Tito, was saved from dissolution by the comintern official Georgi Dimitrov, and in late 1937, Tito was appointed secretary general by the executive council of the comintern (Ulam, 1952). He then returned to Yugoslavia and reorganized the party, taking in young revolutionaries as leaders. It wasn't until 1940 that Tito was chosen secretary general of the CPY central committee (Dedijer, (1981).

When Germany and Italy attacked Yugoslavia on April 6<sup>th</sup> 1941 Tito organized the partisan resistance group to fight the Nazis, the Croatian Ustashe (Fascists), the Serbian Chetniks (extreme nationalists), and other military forces operating within the country. The partisans made a significant contribution to the liberation of Yugoslavia,

and with the backing of the allies, regained control of the country at the end of the war (Hehn, 1979).

After the capitulation of Italy in September 1943, the partisans numbered more than 250,000. Tito, without informing any of the great powers, decided to convene a Partisans parliament (the Anti Fascist Council of the National Liberation Committee of Yugoslavia), which set up the provisional revolutionary government and declared Yugoslavia a federal community of equal peoples. Tito as a politician knew that this was probably a one off chance where such a move could be successfully made, and being a deeply driven politician he grasped hold of what all politicians dream of, “a new born nation” which would secure him a place in history. Tito was named Marshal of Yugoslavia. The Tehran conference granted the partisans the status of allies and sent military missions and aid (Auty, 1972).

Both Winston Churchill and Joseph Stalin felt that Yugoslavia should be unified and both the Yugoslav émigré government and Tito’s revolutionary government should have equal influence in the country (the 50-50 agreement). Tito showed his remarkable diplomatic skills here, in preventing this scheme from becoming a reality, when he met with Churchill in August 1944, and with Stalin the following month. Because of these negotiations, his government became the sole government in Yugoslavia at the end of the war (Churchill, 1954).

The war had, however, devastated the country. The dead amounted to approximately 11 per cent of the population, and damages were very costly. On top of all that, he had many problems with the west, because of his trying to seize Trieste, supporting the communists in the Greek civil war, and shooting down a US airplane over Slovenia. The relations with the west could not have possibly been worse.

Tito came to power as a loyal supporter of Joseph Stalin, but after the war Stalin made it clear to him that loyalty meant subservience. Tito was determined to preserve Yugoslav independence, while Stalin hoped to take advantage of Yugoslavia’s isolation by trying to bring Tito down through economic blockades, sedition, border incidents, and threats of military invasion. Tito was not willing to be subservient, and in 1948 this led to a serious rift with Stalin, which resulted in the expulsion of the CPY from the world Communist movement. At this point, the people of Yugoslavia united behind Tito even more than during World War II.



Tito set off on an independent path, developing an alternative ideology to challenge Soviet Orthodoxy. Under his doctrine, which he insisted was the purest form of communism, workers were supposed to manage their own factories, and a complex system of worker delegates was set up to put this idea into effect. With Stalin's death in 1953, the new Soviet leaders changed their approach, and an official Soviet delegation, headed by Nikita Khrushchev visited Belgrade in 1955 where it formally rejected Stalin's policy, and acknowledged Tito's (Auty, 1972).

Yugoslavia's first constitution (1946) was modelled after the Soviet, passing many of the state powers off to the central government, but after the break with Stalin, new reforms decentralized administration and established workers councils in the factories. In January of 1953, Tito was elected the first president of Yugoslavia. A new constitution was enacted the same year, with the same "Titoist" communist virtues.

In 1961, Tito joined with Egypt's president Gamel Abdel Nasser and Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru to form the non-aligned movement as an alternative to the American and Soviet military blocs, and used the movement as a podium for Yugoslavia's foreign policy views. The conference adopted a 27 point declaration denouncing colonialism, demanding an end to armed action against dependent peoples, endorsing the struggle of the Algerians, and condemning the apartheid system in South Africa. Furthermore, in 1968, Tito denounced the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, claiming that it violated the sovereignty of a socialist country and was a disgrace to socialist power around the world. He followed this by helping set up partisan and territorial defences in parts of the country.

Tito's decisiveness, adaptability, moral, and physical stamina were the qualities that made him a successful leader, and enabled him to provide Yugoslavia with more than three decades of stable leadership. In May 1980, Tito died, and power was passed to a collective presidency. The ensuing period was marked by economic deterioration and increasing ethnic unrest. Under Tito's authoritarian rule, Yugoslavia enjoyed a period of security, inter ethnic peace, and relative prosperity, all of which disintegrated after he died. Josip Broz Tito is considered by many to be, one of the greatest leaders of the Twentieth century (Magstadt & Schotten, 1988).

## **Josip Broz Tito and his attempt at creating and sustaining a Yugoslav national identity.**

### **The road From perplexity to Yugoslavianism.**

There is an old fable that says “Yugoslavia has seven neighbours, six republics, five nations, four languages, three religions, two scripts, and one goal: to live in brotherhood and unity”. This fable paints a vivid picture of the complexity surrounding Tito’s attempt at creating an artificial nationality and the difficulty of actually sustaining it without military rule. Consequently it is not surprising that when Tito died in 1980, so did his dream of a unified Yugoslavia and an all-inclusive identity that encompassed and most importantly unified all the southern Slavs (Belloff, 1985).

Josip Broz Tito, the leader of the partisan resistance in the three factions civil war engulfing the region of Yugoslavia during WWII, led his followers to victory and the land of the southern Slavs to unification. The man who got his name (it is rumoured) by the manner in which he gave his orders, “you-this” or “ti-to” in Serbo-Croat, proved to be the only man in history to successfully create an inorganic national identity in an artificially unified multicultural country. He not only preached his ideas of Marx, but was also one of its few adamant believers. Some people even considered Tito to be more Communist than Stalin himself (Dedijer, 1981).

A Croat and Slovene by ethnic origin, Marshal Tito, a devoted disciple of Stalin, saw communism as the ideal tool to unite the Slavic peoples of south-eastern Europe at the time. Supported by the US and Great Britain (Despite his candid championing of Marxist Principles) Tito was able to win the war in the region. At the time, people were able to accept Tito because they saw his government as the lesser of the two evils vis-à-vis an aggressively nationalistic Serb-Croat rivalry. It protected the Serbs from the nationalistic Croatian Ustasha and it protected the Croats from the nationalistic Serbian Chetniks who took part in massive racist atrocities during the second world war (Auty, 1970).

“Yugoslavian”, the nationalist banner under which the people were united as Slavs and common workers, was the realization of the great Marshal’s communist ideals.



Recognizing that it was dangerous to wait for ethnic identity to fade, he created and enforced an artificial nationality, based on a united heritage (which at this time was limited to museums concentrating on WWII), to unite the population of the fabricated nation. For the forty-five years during which Tito led the country (in person and in soul), this ideology seemed to work relatively well. Tito assumed that by publicly eradicating all those associated with the opposing Ustasha and Chetniks he could sway the eruption of nationalistic tendencies in the future. He also believed that the artificial unifying nationality as a common denominator could suppress the variety of nationalistic assertions within the country. The naïve communist expectation was that people would be linked in such a manner and that individual nationalities would cease to exist and that the only classification left would be the glorious “worker”. Indeed while Tito was alive this link did exist, it was felt by the masses. The failure though is apparent, however, in the realization that this link was forged through “forced unification”, fear and a military dictatorship where people lived in fear of speaking their mind, not the faux-nationalistic integrity he had hoped for (Belloff, 1985).

The Titoist government ignored the cultural differences among the people in the region and instead tried to merge them into one. Although this worked well during the post WWII era where hunger and mass disorientation was prevalent, still the differences in culture resurrected themselves as soon as living standards rose. These stifled nationalistic emotions consequently ignited at the tiniest sparks of nationalistic propaganda in the early 1990’s and exploded into one of the most gruesome wars in history. This static devotion to the words of Marx misled the Great Marshal into thinking that the “sense of Yugoslavianism and the unity among common workers would supplant the sense of individual nations” (Stokes, 1993). Tito believed communism to be the ideal path to this unity and brotherhood of equality among men where all nationalities are treated equally as one and the dividing line between religions are arbitrary since religion was sequestered in Tito’s Yugoslavia. The years of singing Yugoslavian songs, praising Tito in schools and carefully making sure not to refer to your individual ethnic identity seemed to instantly evaporate following Tito’s death and so ensued a revival of individual ethnic cultures.

Tito miscalculated the power behind the pride of individual cultures, especially when they have been restrained in learning about their past and practicing their customs and



religious beliefs. The division of these southern Slavs traced back to the fall of the Holy Roman Empire (Auty, 1972), is a historical pressure/divider that Tito seemed to have overlooked. When the empire split, the dividing line went directly through the region of southern Slavs thus creating the distinction between Croats and Serbs (Auty, 1972). The Croats being the ethnic group which found itself on the West side of the dividing line and the latter on the east. As a result of their location these two groups of originally the same people eventually emerged as two very distinct ethnicities. The Croats and Slovenes experienced the Western way of life and developed a culture very similar to that of western Europe: their alphabet was based on Latin, their religion was Roman Catholic and their loyalties were to western European ideas and ways of life. The evidence that this experience is crucial is vivid in the 1990's when these nations were repulsed at the idea of being considered "eastern" and are presently attempting to join the European Union.

Similarly, the Serbs strongly associated themselves with the eastern half of the Roman empire and sought to preserve their history as part of their glorious Byzantine heritage. As a result, Serbian tradition and culture has several eastern characteristics. For example, the Serbs accepted the Byzantine influence in art, religion, language and life. The Serbs became a predominantly Christian Orthodox culture, with typical Byzantine architecture, paintings and Russian loyalties. Most importantly, the Serbs shared with the east a common religion and the Cyrillic alphabet. They did not closely associate themselves with Europe as the Croats and the Slovenes did, but rather looked east with pride to Russia, their big Slav brother (Petrovich, 1976).

Tito's idea of uniting these different ethnic people was effectively combining a country used to being part of the western tradition and one used to being part of the east into a singular nation against both their wills (Beloff, 1985). Although they shared the same origin and spoke a similar form of language, the cultures were still tremendously different and thus needed to be acknowledged as such. Instead, the differences were initially repressed due to the new found liberation of the nation and later on due to fear, the years of atrocities committed against each other were dusted over and similarities were emphasized to give Tito's new Yugoslavia and its "Yugoslav" inhabitants a feeling of legitimacy. In the words of Bernard Shaw, "it became a country divided by the same language".



Tito failed to see the importance these cultural differences held; he also failed to realise that by banning an individual sense of ethnic identity he would inflame the peoples desire to search for and achieve it. The suppression of the cultural differences only caused resentment (Beloff, 1985). Workers were not united by a sense of brotherhood, but rather by imposed military force on the basis that feudalism, combined with socialism, could overcome ethnic differences in a multinational state by making them irrelevant. In 1962 Tito himself claimed that the national problem in Yugoslavia had been overcome (Brown, 1991).

To the contrary, Marshal Tito was actually setting the scene for the bloody civil war that was yet to come. His decision to treat the Muslim population as an ethnic identity for global political gains, and assume that it would not conflict with a Yugoslav national identity was as careless as his disregard for the difference between the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. He only created another nation within the multicultural country that would find grievances in the artificial unity, leading to the most embittered conflict in recent history. His idea of a “Yugoslavian” identity was as ideal and unrealistic as communism; both of which, coincidentally, happened to follow Tito and his military rule side by side to the grave (Denitch, 1996).

### **The role of the former Yugoslav state in defining National/Ethnic Identity**

State policies relating to the question of “Nationality” in the former Yugoslavia resulted from three intertwined ideological legacies: the Ottoman millet system, Stalinist doctrine, and Wilsonian doctrine. A typical feature of multi ethnic socialist states (such as the USSR, Yugoslavia and China) was the prominent role of the state in defining nationalities within its borders, and “in objectifying that identity, through conferring nationality status, or contesting the groups ethnicity, by refusing recognition” (Gladney, 1991). In the Yugoslav multi-ethnic and socialist federal state “nationality politics” were one of the tools by which the state legitimised and strengthened its structure and thus its power. So while in the West, ethnic and national identities might be imagined and manipulated by individuals and communities, in the socialist regimes such as Yugoslavia it was the state that did the imagining; the people can only contest, resist, or acquiesce.

A key concept within socialist nationality policies is represented by the terms (*narod* or *naciya* in Serbo-Croat) and “nationality” (*nacionalnost*) (Bomley & Kozlov, 1989). Both terms are most commonly translated as “ethnic group” in Western literature. As several authors noted, however, this has led to some confusion among English speakers since one’s nationality is a state assigned status (Gladney, 1991; Bromley & Kozlov, 1989). However, there is a hierarchy of nationality categories and the Slav term closest to the idea of “ethnic group” is *narodnost*. From a Marxist viewpoint *narodnosti* are smaller than *narodi*, do not have a working class “of their own”, and exist only in relation to a larger nation. However an ethnic group may gain political recognition as a nation as did the Muslims in Bosnia Herzegovina. The concept of nationality in a socialist state differs significantly from that in Western Europe. In Western Europe citizenship and nationality are synonymous and nationality refers to the relation of a person to a particular state. However in a multi-ethnic socialist state, national identity is different to citizenship. On an individual level it leaves room for manipulation and choice, since self-ascription and self-identification are the ultimate decisive factors. It is not necessarily a question of a person’s state or place of residence. It is in short an identity a person can either inherit or adopt (Shanin, 1989). These conceptual differences are the key to understanding the dynamics of inter-ethnic relations in the former Yugoslavia. As part of her “nationalities policy” Yugoslavia had a hierarchy of categories within which she grouped different peoples and according to which they were granted national rights. Yugoslavia was a multi-national federation with a three-tier system of national rights. The first category was the “nations of Yugoslavia” (*Jugoslovenski narodi*) of which there were six (Serb, Croat, Slovene, Macedonian, Montenegrin and Muslim), each with a national home based in one of the republics and with a constitutional right to equal political representation. The constitution of each republic stated that it is the republic of a particular nation. Bosnia Herzegovina however was an exception, and was seen as constituting the republic and national home of the Serb, Croat and Muslim nations. The second category was the “nationalities of Yugoslavia” (*narodnosti*) which were legally allowed a variety of language and cultural rights. There were ten ethnic groups officially recognized as “nationalities”, the largest being the Albanians and Hungarians. The third category was “other nationalities and ethnic groups” – Jews.



Vlahs, Greeks, Russians etc, including those who classified themselves as “Yugoslavs” (Petrovic, 1987, Poulton, 1991). The category of narod was heavily influenced by Stalin’s definition of a “nation”. According to his definition a nation is “ a historically formed and stable community of people which has emerged on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life a psychological make-up, the later being manifest in a common shared culture” (Bromley & Kozlov, 1989). The four criteria outlined by Stalin in his “nationalities policy” were the main guidelines in the Yugoslav federal states attitude toward its various ethnic communities. In addition there was embedded within Yugoslavia the historical legacy of the Ottoman millet system, which had created collective cultural identities based on membership of a religious community.

#### What happened to the Yugoslav subject when the State dictated his/her identity?

In the former Yugoslav federal state each citizen was officially identified by his or her nationality at birth, although national identity would never be written on ones identity-card, as was common practice in the USSR (Karklins, 1986). The question of a persons national identity would turn up every ten years on the national census. When parents registered their child for a birth certificate they could choose from a range of different nationalities. For children of mixed marriages such as myself, the parent would choose one nationality for the child, typically the father’s, until the child was old enough to choose for him or herself.

Until 1971 when the Croatian Muslims obtained nationality status, they had various official categories to choose from. In the population census of 1948, there was the option of “Muslims of Undeclared nationality” in addition to Serb and Croat, etc; in 1953 those who did not want to declare themselves as Serbs and Croats had the option of “Yugoslavs of undeclared nationality”. In 1961 the Croatian and Bosnian Muslims could declare themselves as “Muslims in the ethnic sense” and finally in the 1971 census they could declare themselves of “Muslim” nationality. However, many Serbs and Croats never quite accepted the Muslims as a separate “nation”. They would insist that the Bosnian Muslims were really something else, i.e. ethnically either Serbs or Croats respectively (or at best “Serbs or Croats of the Islamic faith”). These claims were part of the wider Serbian and Croatian hegemonic aspirations in Bosnia, Croatia

and Serbia, by making the Muslims into Serbs or Croats would strengthen one of the two contestants considerably whilst fragmenting the identity of the Muslim subject considerably.

Whilst on a research field trip in Croatia in the summer of 1999 I asked one of my Croatian/Bosnian Muslim friends how they tended to identify themselves at censuses, the replies were varied from person to person. Furthermore the same person would slot in to different national or ethnic categories at different times, particularly as census categories changed. Many would identify themselves as Yugoslavs when this was an option. Otherwise, they would identify themselves as a Croat or Serb according to their personal experiences. If one had a good friend or neighbour that was a Croat, one would “write himself” as a Croat.

An interesting case demonstrating the extent of post-civil-war identity fragmentation incurred by the subject due to Yugoslav state intervention within identity politics is Mohamed, an elderly Muslim and former Communist party member who I had met on my travels is what I term a typical example of many of his generation who, for most of their lives, did not have the choice of calling themselves Muslim for public and administrative purposes, i.e. he could not identify with an official Muslim Yugoslav nation. Similarly, as a communist party member he was not allowed to practice his religious customs, and therefore had to publicly deny his Muslim religious identity as well. Mohamed had been through most of the categories: Unspecified Croat, Yugoslav, Serb, and Muslim. His choice was first influenced by official options, and second by socio-cultural context, i.e. where he lived or where he worked. Yet he constantly stressed to me that he was always “a Muslim at heart”. To be a Muslim at heart (*biti Musliman u crce*) is an expression often used by non-devout, non practicing Muslims to refer to their cultural identity. Being a Muslim in the religious sense is dependent on performing certain acts contained in the five pillars and in abstaining from acts which are illicit, such as drinking alcohol. As I have established through my research, in Croatia “Muslim” is also a cultural identity which does not depend on what you do, on performance or religious devoutness, but is rather a sense of belonging to a community of people with whom one shares certain experiences. Muslim thus refers to their “ethnicity”, in an idiom which emphasizes not so much decent as sentiment and a common experience. This is significantly different from the



symbol of blood and heritage, which is so often invoked in discourses on ethnic or national identity among other European peoples. The symbol of blood i.e. referring to a common descent, is highly used by Serbs and Croats, Mohamed would teasingly tell his Croatian Muslim friends that they had Serbian blood in their veins when the subject of kinship and descent was brought up.

Within the multicultural socio-political arena of Former Yugoslav politics where collective cultural identities based on such claims as blood become the only valid ones. Any claims to a nationality status on a different basis was seen by the competing Croats/Serbs as illegitimate, however the so called legitimate claims to national identity were steadily ascending to the level of ethnocide, whilst the individual subject (progressively shifting away from any notion of enlightenment (Hall, 1992)) progressed steadily into a state of fragmentation within a now actively ticking multi cultural time bomb.

### **Ethnic Identity Fragmentation: From Yugoslav to Croat**

“ Any group of people dissimilar from other peoples in terms of objective cultural criteria and containing within its membership, either in principle or in practice, the elements for a complete division of labour and for reproduction forms an ethnic category”

Brass, 1991

Ethnicity is a sense of ethnic identity, which has been defined by De Vos (1975) as consisting of the “subjective, symbolic or emblematic use” by “a group of people ..... of any aspect of culture, in order to differentiate themselves from other groups” or as Brass (1991) claims the last phrase could be altered to read “in order to create internal cohesion and differentiate themselves from other groups”. An ethnic group that uses cultural symbols in this way is a subjectively self-conscious community that establishes criteria for inclusion into and exclusion from the group (Hall, 1992). In the case of Croatia both definitions hold true, especially within the post war era.

At this point matters of descent, birth and a sense of kinship may become important to ethnic group members, for the methods of inclusion and exclusion into the group often involve explicit or tacit adoption of endogamy and exogamy. Within the former Yugoslavia the newly forming ethnic identities utilised all the above aspects of cultural differentiation to push forward the new ethnicities developing in the region. The Croats even went as far as to create a new language in order to set a concrete building block for post-war Croat identity.

Ethnicity or ethnic identity also involves, in addition to subjective self consciousness, a claim to status and recognition, either as a superior group or as a group at least equal to other groups. In the case of Croatia, following the death of Marshall Tito the claim was to a superior ethnic identity, a purer, more western identity never intermixed with the Turkish conqueror of the time. Ethnicity is to ethnic category what class consciousness is to class (Brass, 1991).

Ethnicity is an alternative form of social organization and identification to class, but it is a contingent and changeable status that, like class, may or may not be articulated in particular contexts or at particular times (Vincent, 1974; Azkin, 1964; Deutsch, 1966). Ethnic groups that use ethnicity to make demands in the political arena for alteration in their status, in their economic well being, in their civil rights, or in their educational opportunities are engaged in a form of interest group politics which became prominent in the USA during the 1960s and 1970s and which sought to improve the well being of group members as individuals (Glazer & Moynihan, 1975). However some ethnic groups in other contexts go further and demand that corporate rights be conceded to the group as a whole, that they be given not just individual education opportunities on the same basis as others, but that they be given control over the public system of education in their areas of concentration so that they can teach the history, language, and culture of their group to their own children (Brass, 1991). The Yugoslav government by no means accepted this concept and attempted to forge the identity of post Tito Yugoslavia in the image of the then dominant ethnic group, the Serbs. With time, the fading out of “other” ethnic dialects was initiated and the exclusion / prohibition of the teaching of other ethnic cultures and languages in school became a reality, this marked the end of “Tito’s” Yugoslavia (Korac, 1996).



An ethnic group may demand a major say for the group in the political system as a whole or control over a piece of territory within the country, or they demand a country of their own with full sovereignty. In the later case, as in pre civil war Croatia, the ethnic group aspires to national status and recognition. Insofar as it succeeds by its own efforts in achieving any of these goals either within an existing state or in a state of its own, it has become a nationality or a nation (Azkin, 1964). A nation may be seen as a particular type of ethnic community (Smith, 1971; Rustow, 1967)) or, rather as an ethnic community politicised, with recognized group rights in the political system (Azkin, 1964).

This process of development of communities from ethnic categories is particularly associated with the early stages of modernization in multiethnic societies where languages have not yet become standardized, where religious groups have not become highly structured and compartmentalized, and where social fragmentation is prevalent. However, this transition may occur in post-industrial societies as it did in Yugoslavia where Yugoslavs have now become Croats, Serbs, Bosnians, Montenegrins, Slovenians, Muslims, and Christians.

The second stage in the transformation of ethnic groups involves the articulation and acquisition of social, economic and political rights for the members of the group or for the members as a whole (Brass, 1991). Depending upon the perceived needs and demands of the group, its size and distribution, its relation with other groups, and the political context, demands may aim at relatively modest civil, educational, and political rights and opportunities for the individual members of the group or for the recognition of the groups corporate existence as a political body or nationality. The Serb controlled Yugoslav federal government was introduced to such demands as the right to study the Croatian heritage, language, and religion at public educational establishments within Croatia, all demands were denied though due to the fear of awakening a nationalism within the Croatian people. Paul Brass (1991) claims that,

*“insofar as an ethnic group succeeds by its own efforts in achieving and maintaining group rights through political action and political mobilization, it has gone beyond ethnicity to establish itself as a nationality”*

Since all claims of recognition were denied and the subject grew increasingly fragmented as to their ethnicity, group rights were to be obtained by force.

The differentiation in the process of Yugoslav nationality formation in this manner suggests several problems that require explanation if we are to understand the reasons why Yugoslav identity became increasingly fragmented in the late twentieth century. First what are the conditions under which ethnic groups become communities and under which ethnic demands, ethnic competition, and ethnic conflict take place? Second, what are the conditions under which an ethnic community is likely to make the major demand for status as a nationality and what are the requirements for success? Third, how does one explain the transformations that take place in the culture, behaviour, and boundaries of a people as it undergoes the movement from ethnic group to nationality? Fourth, since it is also evident that ethnic and national movements frequently ebb and flow over time within the same group, how can one explain the resurgence of ethnicity and nationalism among diverse groups of people at different times and in different places?

#### The pillars of ethnic identity Fragmentation: Moulding the post war Croatian Subject

The movement from ethnic group to community is a transition that some groups never make, that others make initially in modern times, and that Yugoslavia has undergone repeatedly at different points in time. In the first category are the various “lost” peoples and speakers of diverse dialects who have merged into or are merging into other peoples – the Cornish in the United Kingdom, the Sorbs and Wends of Eastern and Central Europe, the Maithili speaking people and numerous other dialect speakers in North India (Deutsch, 1968). In the second category are the newly formed ethnic groups and nationalities of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries- the Croats, the Welsh and the Irish, the nationalities in Austria – Hungary, the Ibos in Nigeria, the Naga tribes in northeastern India and most of the language communities of contemporary India and the Malays. In the last category are the ancient peoples of the world; Jews; Han Chinese; Egyptians; and other major nationalities of Western Europe.

What are the conditions that determine whether one group will merge into another group, or will establish or as in the case of Croatia re-establish and redefine its



identity? The richness of a group's cultural heritage, the stage of development of its language, and the distinctiveness of its religious beliefs do not by themselves predetermine that one group of people will be more internally solidary than another and will be more likely to perpetuate itself through time (Brass, 1991). Absence of, or loss of, a distinctive language has not prevented blacks in the USA or Celtic groups in the UK, or Non Hebrew, non Yiddish speaking Jews in the USA from acquiring or maintaining a sense of ethnic identity, the reason being because the maintenance of their ethnic identity and language was not prohibited by the authorities. For the Croatian people in the former Yugoslavia though, it was. By the same token, over the centuries in Europe, old, fully standardized, written languages –Latin, Anglo Saxon, Provencal, Low German, Church Slavonic, Croatian – some of them spoken by peoples occupying compact geographical areas have been submerged while other languages have replaced or absorbed them (Deutsch, 1968), sometimes even by force as we have seen in Yugoslavia. Within post Titoist Yugoslavia the enforced change in language usage implemented by the federal system in Yugoslavia, forced the indigenous masses to re-learn the Yugoslav language and learn to speak correctly (or as the Serb majority did). The usage of old Croatian terms and phrases was discontinued, this change in social policy infuriated people whilst subconsciously even further fragmenting the Yugoslav subject.

Distinctive minority religious groups in modern times have often developed into ethnically self-conscious communities, but it has also often happened, particularly in Eastern Europe, that religious differences have been used or even created to establish or emphasize, in between nations, barriers that have non-religious origins. The religious differences within the former Yugoslavia have performed a major role in the Yugoslav tragedy. For decades hatred has been artificially brewed amongst the Catholic (Croats), Orthodox (Serbs) and Bosnian Muslims. Religion had been manipulated for decades in order to create the hatred which had engulfed a potentially identical peoples with one common ethnicity (Denitch, 1996).

Islam in non Muslim states has often provided a strong basis for Muslim separatism as it did in Bosnia, but it is not only the distinctiveness of Islam as such in relation to other religions that is decisive, for the degree of Muslim communal self consciousness varies in different contexts. For example in Eastern Europe, Islam has served more



effectively as a basis of ethnic separatism in the former Yugoslavia than in Albania (Zavalini, 1968). In south Asia, Sikhism as a distinctive religion has its origins in the early sixteenth century, but it was not until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that a militant body of believers began the process that continuous up to the present day, i.e. of shaping and defining the boundaries of the Sikh community to conform to a particular view of Sikh orthodoxy and instilling in large segments of the Sikh population a sense of communal solidarity and separateness from the Hindus (Brass, 1974).

The process of creating communities from ethnic groups involves the selection of particular dialects or religious/cultural practices or styles of dress or, more importantly in the case of post-war Croatia, historical symbols from a variety of available alternatives. It will be shown below that it is always the case that particular social groups, leaders, or elites that stand to benefit and others to lose from the choices that are made.

#### Elite Competition at war

Ethnic communities are created and transformed by particular elites in modernizing and in post-industrial societies undergoing dramatic social change. This process invariably involves competition and conflict for political power, economic benefits, and social status between competing elite, class, leadership groups both with and among different ethnic categories. Several scholars of ethnicity and nationality have pointed out that modernization and industrialization in large, multiethnic societies tend to proceed unevenly and often, if not always, benefit some ethnic group or some regions of a country more than others (Bates, 1974; Hah & Martin, 1975; Hechter, 1971; Melson & Wolpe, 1970). However inequality between different ethnic groups or culturally distinct regions does not by itself spur the development of communal or national consciousness. Speakers of a under standardized local dialect in a backward rural region of a modernizing country may very well go on speaking their language and cultivating their fields without becoming concerned that their language is being neglected and without developing a sense of solidarity (Paul, 1979). They may do so either because they are completely in the backwash of modernization, remote from urban lifestyles and only marginally effected by new educational opportunities and



new means of mass communication and transportation, or as in the case of Croatia because the locally powerful economic, religious, and political elites find it to their advantage to cooperate with external authorities and adopt the language and culture of the dominant ethnic group (Serbs) in order to maintain or enhance their own power. Relevant examples here apart from the Croatian politicians (Franjo Tudgman in pre war years) and military personnel are the Anglicised Welsh aristocracy in Wales in the nineteenth century, the Polonized Lithuanian nobility in Transylvania, and the Magyarized Romanian nobility in Transylvania. This kind of cooperation between internal elites and external authorities usually leads to a situation of persistent ethnic differences among the mass of the people.

Ethnic self-consciousness, ethnically based demands, and ethnic conflict can occur only if there is some conflict either between indigenous and external elites and authorities or between indigenous elites as in the case of Croatia whose conflict of elites dates back to pre first world war. According to Brass (1991) there are four sources of elite conflict that may spur the development of ethnic communalism or separatism in pre-industrial or early modernizing societies, in the case of Croatia these are,

- a) Conflict between the local aristocracy attempting to maintain its privileges against an alien conqueror.
- b) Conflict between competing religious elites from different ethnic groups.
- c) Conflict between religious elites and the native aristocracy within an ethnic group.
- d) Conflict between native religious elites and an alien aristocracy.

In Croatia at the end of the twentieth century, civil war, the break up of the former Yugoslavia, a break with long term historical evolution, and the enforced introduction of the nation and the individual into the new world order has provoked a romanticised, confused and illusional state of mind towards the past. Some scholars (Takach, 1996; Krawchenko, 1985) claim that the emergence of modern nations is the result of a long

historical evolution and not an “invention” of intellectuals. The fundamental role in the nation building process is played by the modern beurocratic state and not by the nationalist “awakeners”. Others such as Gellner (1991) claim that nations are the products of modern industrial society, though the contribution of the so-called national awakeners is significant and can never be underestimated. It is this significance though that has been vastly underestimated within the Yugoslav wars. It is at this stage were the author wishes to differ with his colleagues, whilst the author shares in their views that a nation is a product of time and common heritage, this research has shed light on the fact that it is these so called awakeners (elites) that have spurred on the reconstruction of the modern Baltic nation’s sense of identity to a dramatic extent. The most important role of the “awakeners” (politicians, intelligencia and social elites) is to enlighten the members of a neouvou ethnos as to their new found and distinctive identity (Takach, 1996). The famous phrase of Massimo d’Azeglio “we have made Italy, now we have to make Italians” did not mean that Italians were to be constructed. Their transformation into nationally conscious citizens was accomplished by deliberate ideological engineering in which particular roles and beliefs were ascribed by the state educational systems and political mobilisation (Takach, 1996), such has been the effect on Croatia. Franjo Tudgman, once a hard core communist spurred on and literally manufactured post-war Croatian national identity with the use of a highly sanitised form of the Croatian language (Nadj, 1997) and a romanticised portrayal of the Croat past. It might be argued that Tudgman had attempted to re-engineer the Croat citizen and the future of the state with the use of a cleansed/manipulated perception of the Croatian past which solely concentrated on highlighting differences between the Croats and Serbs and excluding the Serbs from Croatian history. Hobsbawn states that,

*“nations cannot be understood unless (they are) analysed from below, that is in terms of assumptions, hopes, needs, longings and interests of ordinary people which are not necessarily national and still less nationalist ..... that view from below ..... is exceedingly difficult to discover.*

*Hobsbawn, 1990*



But it is this viewpoint that Dr. Tudgman, the social elite (Brass, 1996) and Croatian academics have come to understand and scrutinize with great care. Armed with the knowledge that since the death of Tito, Belgrade was incapable and unwilling to unify the Yugoslav people under one inclusive ethnic category (Korac, 1996), Dr Tudgman grasped at his last chance to fulfil his ultimate egotistical objective and as his mentor (Tito) severed all links with the past in an attempt at creating and domineering a new nation. A nation which he fallaciously and passionately believed, and hoped would eternally view him as a saviour of the people, much like the indigenous population of the time viewed Tito.

Ever since the death of Franjo Tudgman in 1999 a plethora of political and economic atrocities committed by himself, his family and his government have come to light, now just as Josip Broz Tito, Tudgman has become a taboo (considered to be a criminal by many Croats) following his death, publicly shamed and considered by the people as a mistake. Strangely enough since the death of Tudgman Tito has re-emerged as a positive symbol following the new political establishment's pro Tito stance in the media, now, as if needing a scapegoat the Croatian people blame Franjo Tudgman for the post-war economic, political and sociological tragedies incurred by the Croatian people.

Perhaps what Franjo Tudgman would most distinctively be remembered for is the ethnic identity crisis/confusion he and his regime have left behind, people are no longer certain if the new Croat language is genuine, if the past is truly as Tudgman portrayed it in his post-war propaganda documentaries and speeches, and if the destruction and sanitization of heritage sites and symbols was a well thought out move since another fracture with the past has left the post-war Croatian heritage consumer with another gap in time continuance. This in turn has created mass confusion, fragmentation in individual identity and suspicion on the part of the subject towards the government, the past as portrayed by the mass media and ultimately the heritage sector. Yugoslavia over the twentieth century has witnessed many abrupt and aggressive severances with it's past (Denitch, 1996) and thus the current state of ethnic identity fragmentation of the subject (Hall, 1987) is only a natural by product of the last centuries wars within the Balkans.

The subsequent chapter addresses the issue of heritage consumption. The chapter summarises the theory circumvent to heritage consumption and highlights the motives and consequences of heritage manipulation within the East and West, it concludes with an in depth analysis of the manipulation of heritage within both pre civil war Yugoslavia and post civil war Croatia.



## **Chapter Three**

### **Heritage and the past**

### Chapter Three

#### Heritage Consumption: Manipulating the Past

It is of critical importance at this stage in the thesis that the author defines his usage of the term “heritage consumption” in Croatia before the following chapter gets underway, the term “Heritage Consumption” is employed throughout the thesis precisely as follows,

*“Heritage interpretation is concerned with representing the past from a particular ideological position. Whilst recognizing that heritage may be consumed for a variety of reasons such as aesthetic, leisure, education, my interest lies in the link between heritage representation and a sense of time, place and individual identity in post war Croatia”*

#### Awareness of the Past

The miracle of life is cruelly circumscribed by birth and death; of the immensity of time before and after our own lives we experience nothing. Past and future are alike, inaccessible. But, though beyond physical reach, they are integral to our imaginations. Reminiscence and expectation suffuse every present moment (Lowenthal, 1985).

In one sense nobody can study the past: they can only study relics of the past, and the chief job of the historian is to invent ever more refined and subtle ways of discovering more relics and of learning more from all the different sort of relics in our possession. The past is dead but most definitely not done with (Thomson, 1969). It is dead because it should not be changed in any detail whatsoever. It is not done with because its relics and its consequences surround us in our daily lives and matter greatly to us. The social task of the historian (and of his vast army of helpers from archaeologists, epigraphers and anthropologists to archivists, librarians and curators) is to make sure, whenever possible, that we do learn whatever can be learnt about the past, and that such knowledge and understanding of it as we have is accurate, trustworthy, precise and unmodified in any way whatsoever.



### Why do we modify the past?

“The mythic instinct ere long begins to shape things as they ought to have been, rather than as they were.”

*“The Rebellion: its causes and consequences”*

*Lowell, 1864, pp 184*

It is fair to say that the link between our past, heritage, culture, and the individual's perception of them self as located in space and time is a well-debated point (Cleere 1989; Lowenthal 1981; Byrne 1991; Jenkins 1991; Russell 1993, Thomas 1990; Bertens 1995, Condoris 1989; Hermann 1989; West 1990; Walsh 1992; Simpson 1993, Goulding 1999a,b). So why do we change the past? What moves us to alter and elaborate our heritage in all these ways? And in other ways too, for we transform not only tangible relics but also historical records and personal memories. To be sure, we cannot avoid altering our inheritance; modern perspectives are bound to reinterpret all relics and recollections. Seeing the past in our own terms, we necessarily revise what previous interpreters have seen in their terms, and reshape artifacts and memories accordingly. But beyond involuntary alterations, explicit aims prompt us to replace or add to an inadequate past (Lowenthal, 1985).

We all want more than what we have been left. The bare remains of antiquity on the ground, in texts, and in our recollections seldom suffice the needs, let alone the dreams of the individual subject (Chapman, 1994). “The people of Crete”, says a Saki character, “unfortunately make more history than they can consume locally” (Lowenthal, 1985). That is a rare circumstance; in most countries the demand exceeds the supply. If William James was appalled at Stratford by “the absolute extermination and obliteration of every record of Shakespeare save a few sordid material details”, (William, 1920) his brother Henry mocked at their manufacture for history-hungry pilgrims. “Don't they want also to see where He had His dinner and where He

had His tea? "They want everything . . . They want to see where He hung up His hat and where He kept His boots and where His mother boiled her pot" (Conn. 1983; Henry, 1903).

Among the history hungry today, antiquing is a widespread avocation. Copies outnumber and often obscure actual survivals; newly minted places replicate nostalgically imagined scenes. Seeing a quaint Mediterranean town, a visitor who asks about its past is told "the town has no history, Signore. It was built from scratch three years ago, entirely for the tourist trade" (Stevenson, 1965).

As with memory, we reinterpret relics and records to make them more comprehensible, to justify present attitudes and actions, to underscore changes of faith (Stevenson, 2000). The unadulterated past is seldom sufficiently ancient or glorious; most heritages need ageing and augmenting (Uzelak, 1998). Individually and collectively we revise the inherited past to enhance self-esteem, to aggrandize property, to validate power. Hence genealogies are fabricated to bolster titles of nobility, decrees forged to justify papal dominion, relics planted to demonstrate pre-Columbian discoveries (Lowenthal, 1985).

To specify such motives, however, is not to say that all these alterations are deliberate. We are often innocent of conscious intent to change what we mean simply to conserve or celebrate. What impelled our predecessors to change the past- the biases of bygone historians, restorers, curators - is clear enough in hindsight. We can now see how pedagogic and patriotic commitments shaped Henry Ford's "Greenfield" and John D Rockefeller's "Williamsburg" (Rockefeller, 1937) But we cannot detect our own preconceptions, which warp the past no less than Ford's or Rockefeller's. To be aware of our own biases is beyond a point impossible: we fail to recognize not only why we alter history, but often that we do to it. Thus we tend to misconceive the past as a fixed verity from which others have strayed, but to which we can and should remain unshakably faithful (Uzelak, 1998).

Though the past is malleable, its alteration is not always easy: the stubborn weight of its remains can baulk intended revision (Stevenson, 2000). When relics and records obstinately resist a desired interpretation, we may have to change our minds rather



than alter the evidence. In fact we commonly do both at once (Lowenthal, 1985): the consensual past is in continual flux between long-held views reluctantly abandoned and a heritage perennially transformed.

In this opening section of chapter three the author shall first examine how far changing the past is conscious or deliberate, and the consequences of such awareness for history and its remains. Next the author shall discuss the qualities and features we like to put into the past and the goals to which they conduce. Finally, before moving on to the section on Eastern Europe, the author shall survey the impact of such changes on our surroundings and on ourselves as participants in a continuing dialogue between ever-modernizing pasts and ever-passing presents.

### **Consciousness of alteration**

We may be fully conscious, partially and hazily aware, or wholly unconscious of what prompts us to alter the past. Many such changes are unintended; others are undertaken to make a supposed legacy credible; relatively few are expressly sought. The more strenuously we build a desired past, the more we convince ourselves that things really were that way; what ought to have happened becomes what did happen (Lowenthal, 1985; Stevenson, 2000). If we profess only to rectify our predecessors' prejudices and errors and to restore pre-existing conditions, we fail to see that today's past is as much a thing of today as it is of that past; to bolster faith that the past originally existed in the form we now devise, we minimize or forget our own alterations.

The architect George Edmund Street exhibited disparity between conscious precept and unconscious practice, he criticized the reconstructions of Burgos Cathedral and St Mark's, Venice, for the same historical insensitivity that led Street himself to replace the fourteenth-century eastern arm of the choir of Dublin's Christ Church Cathedral with a pastiche of the "original" choir; yet Street was neither a vandal nor a hypocrite (Harvey, 1972). Like Orwell's Ministry of Truth, which continually revised the past to show that the Party had always been right, we brainwash ourselves into believing that we simply reveal the true past, a past which is unavoidably, however, partly of our own manufacture.

In oral societies, the absence of permanent records inhibits awareness of alteration, and reluctance to recognize change characterizes scribal cultures as well. Only the permanency of print finally forced scholars to realize how seriously copyists had corrupted such embodiments of tradition as the Old Testament (Peel, 1984). Even peoples who lack writing, however, may knowingly alter the past that has been passed down to them. Historical narrators alter testimony intentionally for their own purposes, unintentionally for the sake of collective tradition; hence communal aims incite erroneous accounts of the past, whereas private aims encourage deliberate falsifications (Lowenthal, 1985; Uzelak, 1994). Tradition generally omits, or prohibits the recounting of, facts about the past that might undermine ruling institutions.

Lowenthal (1985) states that failure to realize how deeply we ourselves affect the received version of our past derives partly from feeling that the past is sacred and ought not to be tampered with. Those who deliberately falsify the historical record rarely confess except under compulsion. Those who revise it unconsciously or to set the record straight are reluctant to face up to their own biases. And because their perpetrators remain unaware or unrepentant, many alterations of the past never come to light.

According to Chapman (1994) faith in the ultimate stability of the past's lineaments also explains unwillingness to admit one has tampered with it; people prefer to believe that exposing lies and expunging fabrications, securing historical fidelity against villainous manipulators, will regain the "true" past. Faith in the fixed reality of the past buttresses the belief that by sloughing off previous alterations we can celebrate antiquity exactly as it was (Chapman, 1994).

Even those conscious of their own actions often fail to see that they put the surviving past at risk (Uzelak, 1998). Latter-day Romans who quarried marble from imperial temples and statuary, contractors who demolish archaeological remains, farmers who plough up traces of medieval villages seldom realize that they subvert the historical legacy.

According to Lowenthal (1985) admirers of antiquity also unintentionally wear down



its relics. Visitors who wear down the floor of Canterbury Cathedral do not stop to consider the cumulative impact of thousands of pairs of shoes. The lacking knowledge of experts too can have dreadful consequences: conservators who secured the Parthenon pillars with iron bolts early in this century never dreamt that rust and metal expansion would make them agents of destruction. Few who signpost historical sites, copy old master paintings, or emulate period styles imagine that such acts of appreciation may also affect how the original relics are seen. Perhaps motives unconsciously held explain their perpetrators' blindness to impacts that are patent to others.

Just because it seems so commendable, 'setting the record straight' involves more self deception than any other motive for changing the past. Convinced that they at last see the past in its true light, revisionists stripping away previous accretions remain unaware that they are adding new accretions of their own (Stevenson, 2000). Some reshape relics to conform with the documentary record; others such as Franjo Tudgman rewrite history to accommodate artifactual evidence; still others restore tangible and written remains to what they might have been but for attrition and interference (Uzelak, 1998, Chapman, 1994, Perica, 2000). Yet faith in a vital document, a rare relic, a unique memory, an *idée fixe* often entails the neglect or revision of other evidence that tells discordant tales of the past.

We feel encouraged to right previous wrongs and repair previous errors whatever motivated them. Wanton extirpation like the Nazi destruction of Poland's medieval town centres; revision animated by aesthetic morality like Victorian Gothic church fittings; well-meant but not very well informed or clumsily executed previous restorations -- all are enthusiastically set right. Some restore to make amends to their own guilt; Henry Ford's Greenfield Village re-created an earlier America his automobiles had done much to destroy (Philips, 1982).

The rectified past aims to be seen as the true original. "Historic" villages that have corrected pedagogic and patriotic invention now claim to portray an archaeologically authentic past. But because the up-to-date truth they profess is a point of pride, doubts

about the authenticity of their own revisions are apt to be brushed aside, conflicting evidence is almost always ignored (Povrzanovic, 1993).

Those who remake the past as it ought to have been, as distinct from what it presumably was, are more aware of tampering with its remains (Uzelak, 1998). They deliberately improve on history, memory, and relics to give the past's true nature better or fuller expression than it could attain in its own time. The transition from oral to written records in twelfth- and thirteenth-century England often required such interventions to make the written record conform both with common sense and with concepts of authenticity. "A charter was inaccurate and should be corrected if it failed to give the beneficiary a privilege which the author had obviously intended it to have, had he still been alive to express his wishes" (Clanchy, 1979). (Most donors' words could not have been exactly recorded in any case, for charters had to be written in Latin.)

All these motives involve some form of self-deception, some persistent faith that the past, thus preserved or restored is not being altered. In contrast, those who deliberately invent evidence usually aim to implant error (Uzelak, 1998; Stevenson, 2000). Some misrepresent the past because what had actually happened embarrasses, impoverishes, frightens or does not serve their selfish aims/objectives and aspirations; others forge paintings or salt sites with fake antiquities to gain wealth or to perpetrate a hoax; still others invent history to inflame pride or patriotism (Crawford & Lischutz, 1998). Lowenthal (1985) states that the donation of Constantine was fabricated to sustain papal claims to temporal powers; James Macpherson's "Ossian served to purify the Homeric epic tradition and to provide the Gaels with a heroic antiquity.

All these reasons for fabricating the past may become inextricably tangled. The novel *Krasnoye Derevo* depicts 'holy charlatans' refashioning ancient Russian relics and conning customers into buying reproduction furniture as real antiques. These fakes symbolize the Party's revision of history -- selling a false view of the Russian past, replacing real with distorted memories, and substituting a shoddy modern simulacra for genuine past ideals. But whereas history and memories are unconsciously subverted, the artifacts are knowingly antiqued (Falchikov, 1980).



The reactions of those who are fooled depends partly on the fabricators' supposed motives. Unlike fakes designed to deceive, good intentions extenuate the crimes of those who distort or destroy original relics under the illusion of restoring them. And faith that the actual past is too closely interwoven to be permanently subverted also mitigates the offence of tampering with history, for few expect the alterations to endure.

### **What are our motives for changing the past?**

What impels us to tamper with history? And what do we add to or substitute for what we inherit? We feel more at home with our past, whether manufactured or inherited, when we have put our own stamp on it. Some occupants of old houses seek to exorcise the imprint of previous occupants, to replace their predecessors' pasts with their own. To connect with a valued tradition, we must, like the humanists, replicate, transform, and fragment it; in order to link our own lives intimately with events of wider significance. People “remember” having been present at historic events they were nowhere near. Pasts made famous by interpretation or depiction often become present actuality (Crawford & Lipschutz, 1998).

We alter the past to become part of it as well as to make it our own. Graffitists bent on nominal immortality have defaced ancient monuments at least since Renaissance visitors scribbled on the walls of the Catacombs. Lowenthal (1985) claims that the temptation seems irresistible; the eighteenth-century painter Robert Ker Porter inscribed his own name alongside those of other celebrities he had scolded for doing the same thing (Panofsky, 1955).

Most of all we alter the past to “improve” it - exaggerating aspects we find successful, virtuous, or beautiful, celebrating what we take pride in, playing down the ignoble, the ugly, the shameful. The memories of most individuals, the annals and monuments of all peoples highlight supposed glories; relics of failure are seldom saved and rarely memorialised (Lowenthal, 1985).

What changes achieve these emphases? What qualities do we instil into our inheritance? A past that is long, honourable, distinguished, manifesting continuity of tradition or a return to earliest principles; a past rich in meaning and virtue that respects ancestral precept and harmonizes with the present's best impulses. If missing or scanty in actual remains, these desired traits abound in subsequent additions to the written record, to relics, and to works of emulation and commemoration.

Magnified traditions especially bolster peoples embittered by subjugation or newly come to nationhood. Hence Croat nationalist intellectuals were encouraged by the state to use the Croatian coat of arms, develop a new flag and anthems as well as re-use old nationalistic songs which were forbidden during communist times (Povrzanovic, 1993).

Many remade histories are narrowly chauvinist, excluding the alien so as to emphasize native or ethnic achievements. Croats in the post-civil-war epoch have destroyed all Serb antiquities in their attempt at recreating a sovereign national identity; and the Irish have pulled down or left unprotected fine Georgian buildings, viewed askance as symbols of English oppression to be swept away and replaced by the "peasant-Gaelic" architecture of an independent Eire (Gruszecki, 1980; Stevenson, 2000)).

To denigrate a rival heritage, its antiquities may be hidden or demolished. Nineteenth-century British Ecclesiastical Commissioners razed the remains of Irish churches, Irish nationalists charged, 'to destroy evidences of past civilisation in order to reconcile men to the notion that they are "a people without a history" who ought . . . to occupy an inferior position' (Sheehy, 1980). Similarly the Serb controlled federal Yugoslav government destroyed all pre WWII icons which depicted Croatian sovereignty and allegiance to the Austro-Hungarian empire in an attempt to erase all thoughts of independence from the subjects conscious, and in time subconscious thought.

Some nations devalue their own national past, they ignore indigenous in favour of foreign features or persuade themselves that native antiquities are exotic: antiquarians



long tried to prove English monumental remains Greek or Egyptian or Phoenician or almost anything, so long as they were not British (Daniel, 1964).

Those bent on contriving a prideful past may have to mediate between traditionalist and modernist goals. The desire to affirm continuity with a pre-colonial heritage and to “restore” non- Western traditions often conflicts with an equally urgent need to demonstrate that the new country and its people have long been 'modern' (Gordon, 1971).

History is customarily made more venerable. Those who magnify their past are especially prone to amplify its age. Relics and records count for more if they antedate rival claims to power, prestige, or property; envy of antecedence plays a prime role in lengthening the past (Chapman, 1994).

Most peoples exaggerate their cultural antiquity or conceal its recency. Olof Rudbeck's *Atlantica* established ancient Sweden as the fount of modern culture; Germans and then the English and Americans ascribed the roots of democracy to early Goths; African arts are said to antedate the Assyrians and Croat heritage is claimed to outdate the Yugoslav era (Michell, 1982; Kedourie, 1971; Chapman, 1994).

A magnified or invented antiquity also aggrandizes localities and individuals. Tracing Croatian linkages back to Roman and Trojan origins legitimated nationalist claims (Uzelak, 1998).

Lust for the ancient may entail the sacrifice of more recent relics. Some restorers virtually raze buildings in order to return them to their supposed original state. Style and decor attributed to earlier times replace what is disparaged as later: nineteenth- and early twentieth-century English terraced houses accrete simulated details of seventeenth- and eighteenth- century facades (Lowenthal, 1985).

Besides antiquating the past, we make it sumptuous or seemly, like Renaissance painters who depicted the Nativity in the ambience of magnificent palaces. Leaving out the commonplace dross of which the present shows us quite enough, historical romance still fits the purpose. The preferred past is mostly seen from the purview of

the rich, the well born, the powerful (Chapman, 1994). Harvard staff and students named a fourteenth century Tunica chief, Queen Elizabeth, a high-born lady in sixteenth-century Dubrovnik, a late eighteenth-century Viennese aristocrat, the nineteenth-century master of Sissinghurst as the people they would want to be in the past of their choice (Anderson, 1984). Historic preservation even behind the Iron Curtain has concentrated on the grandiose remains of feudalism and imperialism. These 'class-hostile' structures appeal not only to foreign tourists; the indigenous masses reject folk architecture and "relics of the workers" movements' in favour of legacies of capitalism (Stankiewicz, 1984).

To sustain a featherbed image of the past, evidence is often ignored or misinterpreted (Uzelak, 1998). As "reconstructed" in Los Angeles, Hugo Reid's original crude adobe pioneer home is tricked out with a tile floor and roof, elaborate furnishings, and a Spanish patio; it has become the rancho house of a wealthy Don (Schuyler, 1976).

Relics and memories of ill repute are likewise obliterated, infamous events omitted from re-runs of the past. Celebrants of Newburyport's tercentenary "ignored this or that difficult period of time or unpleasant occurrence or embarrassing group of men and women; they left out awkward political passions; they selected small items out of large . . . contexts, seizing them to express today's values" (Lears, 1981; Lowenthal, 1985).

The virtues of bygone heroes are likewise inflated. Admired forebears acquire qualities esteemed today, however anachronistic, and their faults are concealed or palliated.

Tenets of taste and comfort also shape the past in restorations and re-enactments. To 'offer visitors the least common denominator between what we believe to be accurate and what we presume they want to see', curators cast aside the unpleasant or the ordinary for the museum-worthy creme de la creme and an imaginary serenity (Stevens, 1981).

The past is not always benignly exhibited; on occasion its infamies too are exaggerated. Partisan historians invent or magnify enemy depravities. The public



gloats over gory tales of Jack the Ripper, scenes of execution at the Tower of London, the chamber of horrors at Madame Tussaud's, indulging tastes for the macabre safely displaced to bygone times (Geddes, 1981).

The past's worst horrors are beyond the power of replication, but the cult of violence and the callousness engendered by television permit the portrayal of infamies unthinkable even fifteen years ago, including the tortures of the Inquisition, the branding of slaves, and the gas ovens of Auschwitz (Bush, 1984).

Changing needs again remould the past as time outmodes previous alterations (Stevenson, 2000). The novelist Siegfried Lenz shows attitudes toward museum relics on display in the Masurian borderland shifting with the fortunes of war; in the light of successive Russian or German conquests things which local people "had previously thought poignant they now saw as tasteless or even incriminating" (Lenz, 1981).

Relics and records of ethnic groups likewise emerge, disappear, and resurface in response to changing stereotypes. The Croats within the former Yugoslavia disappeared as a nationality in 1945 and gradually vanished from public awareness only to remerge in the spring of 1970 as an example of separatist swine (according to official government reports on the "Croatian Spring") within the new Socialist era (Denitch, 1996; Stevenson, 2000). In 1992 the Croats re-emerged once more, this time as an independent state within a post-modern Europe.

The past is always altered for motives that reflect present needs. We reshape our heritage to make it attractive in modern terms; we seek to make it part of ourselves, and ourselves part of it; we conform it to our self-images and aspirations (Chapman, 1994, Uzelak, 1998). Rendered grand or homely, magnified or tarnished, history is continually altered in our private interests or on behalf of our community or country.

### **What are the consequences of tampering with heritage**

All these changes affect both our historical environment and ourselves. Above and beyond achieving a past more splendid, virtuous, ancient, or even horrific than the

way things actually were, alteration reflects unintended and intended changes that reorganize the past's spatial and temporal character. It is to these unintended changes that I now turn.

Exaggeration is one evident effect. We make the past more colourful by focusing on its greatest residues and combining them in a unnatural unity (Bate, 1971; Uzelak, 1998). Even the most faithful histories, wrote Descartes, if they neither change nor augment the significance of things to make them more readable, almost always omit the most commonplace and least striking of the attendant circumstances, thereby distorting the remainder (Lowenthal, 1985).

A past thus made vivid conforms to our expectations, for modern perceptions require stimuli which an plain past could not supply. Habituated to a far wider range of artefacts and locales than our forebears, we would scarcely notice, let alone admire, the drabber and less diversified products of most previous periods.

What we know of the past, however, more and more conflicts with how we feel it should be experienced (Stevenson, 2000). History tells us that everyday medieval life was hard and poor - quite unlike the colourful, high-spirited world of castles, cathedrals, and chivalry familiar from romantic tales (Lowenthal, 1985).

Altering the past also conflates it, making all its scattered segments seem somehow similar. We reduce the diversity of previous experience either to a few themes within a narrow time span or to generalized uniformity (Chapman, 1994; Uzelak, 1998). Such conflation sounds paradoxical; after all, both speech and writing elaborate the history they transmit, scholarship elucidates ever more remote and numerous pasts, waves of nostalgia now lap at the very shores of the present, and historical evidence - textual analysis, radiocarbon dating- permits ever finer discriminations of age and style. Yet we minimize the distinctiveness of these proliferating pasts, unite former "greats" by viewing them all as "old", and impart the same vintage aroma to most of our relics and memories (Lowenthal, 1985).

Alterations and additions to the past strengthen the feeling that it is all essentially one (Uzelak, 1998). Popular historical icons - half- timbering, cut-glass pub windows,



signposted castles, cloche hats, steam engines - come to stand not simply for a particular period or episode but for the past as a whole, triggering a generalized sense of bygone days. W. I. Thompson dismisses Southern California's composite ambience of the "past" -- plastic paddlewheel steamers, medieval castles, rocket ships -- as a landscape of "shattered . . . discontinuities" (Thompson, 1979).

The conformation of relics and records likewise makes the past all more homogeneous (Crawford & Lischutz, 1998). The reworked heritage acquires a studied air of coherent uniformity foreign to the ramshackle and discrepant nature of the inviolate past, let alone to the detritus that time unaided has bequeathed us.

Refitted historical structures tend to look alike, finally, because present-day demands and techniques impose a uniform gloss on whatever individuality they once had. Whether an old-time precinct is purportedly neolithic, medieval, or Edwardian, the visitor is apt and hence apt to expect -- to see it tricked out in the same way and surrounded by the same paraphernalia. Standard display and restoration practices apply a modern veneer to relics of all epochs (Trillin, 1977).

Remaking the past to embody their own wished-for virtues was a major Victorian enterprise. By modernizing the Greeks and archaizing themselves, the Victorians could view the ancients as living contemporaries (Turner, 1981). Traditionalists dreamed of replacing the present with the past; but today was usually brought in line with yesteryear by conforming yesteryear with today's desires (Blaas, 1978; Chapman, 1994).

Even a knowingly manipulated or adulterated past can coexist easily with unaltered relics. In historic-village compounds, old houses in situ nestle side by side with others brought in from far and wide, with replicas of extinct local buildings, and with generic antiquities. The confusion is actually a source of pride for some who parade their contrivance as equal to (if not better than) the real old thing. "It is always flattering", concludes an advertisement for do-it-yourself reproduction furniture, 'to have your own creations mistaken for originals' (Lowenthal, 1985, pp 355). What matters is the delight taken in authentically replicating the past. Indeed, in this sense only a replica can be authentic.

Imbuing the past with present-day intention and artifice also distances it, however, segregating it in its own world -- quintessentially the world of the museum. Relics absolved from functional contexts can be moulded solely for display, and appreciative veneration underscores the distinction between the now useless but attractive past and the workaday present. "On one side plastic, formica, gadgets, nothingness; on the other beauty and culture, mummified in a museum" (Murray, 1979). With "lustre cream pitchers that held no cream, the Dutch oven that held no bread, chairs with tapes across where no one could sit, pineapple-post beds where no one slept, and the rooms that no one lived in", museums necessarily deprive the past of life (Lowenthal, 1985).

Favouring the early at the expense of the recent also distances past from present. "Earlying up" reinforces notions of the past as a realm apart, only remotely and peripherally connected with life today (Uzelak, 1998). The conversion of Sacramento's early twentieth-century warehouses into early nineteenth-century boutiques and candle shops thus obliterated one observer's remembered landmarks; his childhood scene, his personal links with history, were replaced by a quaint, irrelevant antiquity (Frye, 1977).

Even where past and present physically intermingle, interpretation betokens segregation (Povrzanovic, 1993). The use of two names on Boston street signs, the "Old Name" beneath the modern one, divides attention between past and present, urging visitors to look now at the historical elements of the scene, now at the contemporary - never at both together (Lowenthal, 1985).

Relics are more likely to be self-consciously segregated where they are rare. Compared with the awesome respect Americans accord their antiquities, the English seem almost casual about their more substantial heritage (Banham, 1981). Yet a century ago Ruskin thought his fellow countrymen far less well-endowed and hence more prone to meddle with relics than the French or Italians: Abroad, a building of the eighth or tenth century stands ruinous in the open street; the children play round it, peasants heap their corn in it, the buildings of yesterday nestle about it, and fit their new stones into its rents, and tremble in sympathy as it trembles. No one wonders at



it, or thinks of it as separate, and of another time; we feel the ancient world to be a real thing, and one with the new (Lowenthal, 1985).

In the continent the links between past and present remain unbroken (Bann, 1984), but those links remain unbroken only so long as the tangible past goes unrecognized. Imagine the effects of a visit to that French ruin of even a small fraction of Ruskin's readers. They would wonder at it, think it of another time, sketch and photograph it. Villagers would provide lodgings, sell souvenirs, and become picturesque likenesses on film. Publicity would swell the press of visitors and require the ruin to be fenced off, guards stationed, and admission charged to defray these costs. Conscious appreciation of antiquity inevitably sets it apart (Lynch, 1972).

Enlarged or diminished, embellished or sanitized, lengthened or shortened, the past becomes more and more a foreign country (Lowenthal, 1985), yet also increasingly tinged with present colours (Povrzanovic, 1993). But in spite of its modern overlay the altered past retreats from the present more rapidly than the untouched past, and suffers earlier extinction. Only the continual addition of more recent history prevents the past we revise from becoming marooned in ever remoter antiquity.

Such alterations segregate and homogenize us along with our relics: as we reshape the past to fit present-day images, our perceptions of it become more like those of our contemporaries (Uzelak, 1998). Whereas an unrevised past elicits diverse explanations, a past formed to fit received views reduces the variety of historical perspectives and limits the range of historical experience. Less idiosyncratically encountered, the remade past is more monolithically interpreted: the restorers and guides through whose eyes we see it fit us all with the same distorting lenses (Lowenthal, 1985).

History continually tailored to our conceptions is more and more a joint enterprise; your past resembles mine not only because we share a common heritage but also because we have changed it in concert (Chapman, 1994). But this fabricated consensus is highly evanescent (Stevenson, 2000). We outdate history with increasing speed, so that even quite recent views of the past, available in voluminous detail on tape and film, now seem unbelievably strange. Textbooks bring the "truth" about

history quickly and thoroughly up to date, but because each generation of schoolchildren reads only one such version of the past (Fitzgerald, 1980; Hedges, 1997). A past remoulded in the image of the ever-changing present may enable a whole age group to share perspectives, but cuts them off from those historical perspectives that preceded and will follow them (Lowenthal, 1985)).

Incessant historical revision makes our predecessors' sense of the past more remote and less accessible. We have lost our parents' and our grandparents' view of history, not to mention that of earlier times, not merely because time has interpolated new pasts and altered what we know of older ones, but also because each new consensus transforms the very structure and syntax of historical understanding.

### **Understanding East European Ethnic Heritage**

Within the preceding section I have highlighted the motives and consequences of heritage manipulation within the East and West. Before proceeding with this section I feel it is necessary to explain the difference in the usage of the term “heritage” in the east and west. Western heritage in the twentieth century is “dormant heritage”, and has been largely influenced by the consumer and economic practicalities of the sites in question. The only area open to the interpretation of heritage is within the management structures inside the sites themselves and among the individual heritage consumer. Eastern heritage on the other hand is what I define as “living heritage” and has been consistently reformed and manipulated by “political” ambition and not economic gain or individual thoughts upon the authenticity of the representations on hand.

The term living heritage in the East rationalizes the obsessive stance of the Eastern block towards it's past. Within the Eastern Block the past has been manipulated on so many occasions that it has left the contemporary consumer of heritage highly fragmented and ensuned within the past whilst attempting to define his or her



self/identity and place within the time flux continuum as the following chapter will support.

### **Heritage Consumption and National Identity**

The growth of the heritage industry is one of the major social phenomenon of the last century. So one question that needs to be asked is, why has the need to preserve the tangible relics of the past epochs suddenly become so important? Lowenthal (1981) states that little is known of the philosophy or psychology behind preservation, except that throughout history mankind has largely ignored remnants of the past, assuming that his inheritance was innate. However Lowenthal argues that the past has always exerted powerful pressure on the present. Mankind throughout his past has always paid homage to the deeds and memories of his ancestors, embodied in myth, tradition and history. He proposes three reasons for this,

- 1) It was different from the present
- 2) Its tangible relics are rapidly disappearing
- 3) It is crucial to our sense of identity

Lowenthal (1981) claims that several late eighteenth and nineteenth century developments reinforced the emotional and symbolic importance of relics:-

*“one was the sense of folk identity in Europe’s emerging nation states whose vernacular languages, folklore and material arts provided a focus for national self consciousness. Relics were revered as symbols of national and social aspirations. Discovery of sites and treasures for the cradles of civilisation around the north and mediteranean stimulated both scholarly and popular interest in material remains. A new awareness of individual identity encouraged man to view life as a career, looking back for comfort and meaning to childhood scenes. Ruins and ancient relics reminded man of his evanescence and mortality, thus the beginnings of the psychological awareness of the need to preserve,”*

However, Byrne (1991) stated that the Western historians and archaeologists of the nineteenth century, played a large part in shaping cultural perceptions of history by ordering the past of countries where they found themselves, into a “hierarchy” of progress with themselves at the pinnacle.

This in turn raises questions regarding the role of heritage in relation to the construction of identity. Hermann (1989) states that archaeologists played a role in affirming cultural identities, which he maintains was one major justification for the conservation of the past. Simpson (1993) examines the role of dominant cultures in heritage, arguing that,

*“In the tourist exchange nexus, the icons of national identity are drawn from the peripheries of the dominant structures of society ..... the symbols of those who are often most loosely integrated into society are appropriated and exaggerated to provide an artificial construct by which the most extensive enterprise of manufacturing and marketing of acceptable, collective identities can begin”*

*Simpson, 1993, pp 169*

Byrne (1991) takes the argument further by stating that it is indeed rare for a country to have an equal balance of ethnic groups in terms of numbers, wealth or political influence. Consequently it is not uncommon for the dominant group to use its power to push its own heritage to the front, minimising in the process the significance of subordinate groups as it crafts a national identity in its own image.

Thus from the eighteenth century, history, the past and heritage have been linked with national and cultural identity, often perpetuated in images or reflections of dominant ideology. Russell (1993) states that heritage conservation has in the past operated partially and prejudicially. This continues into the present with historical interpretation often divorced from community or everyday experience, consequently its relevance is diminished. At the same time however, people can be substantially affected because of the alignment of heritage with particular dominant value



positions, which marginalize or dismiss the significance of subordinate or minority groups in society.

### **Manipulating national identity through Heritage consumption**

Historians have sometimes been pre-occupied with the connection between the past and the future (Heilbroner, 1995). There are reasons why in the contemporary world today this pre-occupation is particularly resonant (Phillips, 1998). In his book “Mythical Past, Elusive Future”, Frank Furedi (1992) suggests that,

*“anxiety about the direction of the future has stimulated a scramble to appropriate the past”*

*Furedi, F, 1992, pp 3*

and describes attempts by governments and elites throughout the planet to reinvent national histories/identities. Furedi also emphasises, however, that “History is in Demand” by a range of competing groups concerned to find identity in a troubled, uncertain world; there is, after all, no longer a history with a capital H (Phillips, 1998); there are many histories. This appropriation of the past only makes sense when one considers that history has been subject to the same forces of consumerism and consumption experienced in various aspects of economic, social and cultural life, most commonly associated with the modern era (Lyotard, 1984). This reflects itself not only in the growing interest in heritage, Museums, and local history, but also in the ways which competing forces have attempted to lay claim to “official” histories.

Goulding (1996) quotes Bennet (1988) who in his essay “Museums and People” discusses the developments and objectives of museums. He makes the point that while late nineteenth century museums were intended to be “for” the people, they were definitely not “of” the people. Minimal, if any attention was paid to portraying the true lives, habits and customs of the working classes. On the contrary, museum served to instil and perpetuate the power of the ruling classes by legitimising their role and position under the subtle guise of education. Bennet’s observation could not be more true in relation to the relationship of the elite and the manipulation of the past.

Lowenthal (1985) argues that inevitably, most historical interpretation within heritage sites emphasises the glory of long gone days, exaggerating triumphs and events of nationalistic pride, while playing down the darker, less noble epochs. As a consequence of this selectivity many remade histories are narrowly chauvinistic, always excluding the alien or other so as to emphasize national achievements. Seldom do we see memorials to failure. Never-the-less, while recognising that true interpretation can never be achieved, it is important to recognise the implications of restructuring history. Lowenthal maintains that these changes effect our historical environment. The glorified or “cosy” past conforms to our expectations, providing contemporary social systems with stimuli to excite our modern perceptions in a way that an unadorned past could never hope to.

Phillips (1998) argues that museums and heritage sites represent the extremity of the boundary between the official and the unofficial, for they “negotiate a nexus between cultural production and consumption, and between expert and lay knowledge” (Macdonald, 1996, p. 4). Sociologists, psychologists, anthropologists and cultural analysts have long since recognized the importance of the museum for the shaping of public culture (Pearce, 1990, 1994), Knowledge (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992) and national identity (Kaplan, 1994). They have also been correct to identify the expansion of the museum and heritage industry as being the most obvious example of the need to “consume” the past in post war social structures (Boylan, 1990; Hewison, 1987).

### **The Unbalanced Ethno-History/Heritage**

A critical feature of the pre-modern legacy that has had the most profound consequences upon the processes of modernization is the uneven diffusion of ethno-heritage/history (Smith, 1995).

My usage of the term “ethno-history/heritage” does not mean an objective historian’s dispassionate enquiry into the past but the subjective view of the later generations of a given cultural unit of population of the experience of their real or presumed forbears. That view is inseparable from what the historian or social scientist would term



“myth”. The term “myth” does not signify fabrication or pure fiction, generally speaking, myths- particularly socio-political myths contain kernels of historical fact, around which there grow up accretions of exaggeration, idealization, distortion, selective perception, sanitization and allegory. Political myths are stories told, and widely believed, about the heroic heritage/past that serve some collective need in the in the present and future (Tudor, 1972). Ethno-history or, ethnic mythistoire, in turn represents an amalgam of selective historical truth and idealization, with varying degrees of documented fact and political myth, stressing elements of romance, heroism and the unique, to present a stirring and emotionally intimate portrait of the communities history, constructed by, and seen from the standpoint of, successive generations of community members (Tudor, 1972; Kirk, 1973, Armstrong, 1982,)

Ethno-history is characteristic of most cultural communities in all ages, whereas scholarly, dispassionate history is a minority phenomenon peculiar to certain societies and civilisations. The Homeric poems and the Bible are among the most familiar examples in the western tradition of ethno-historical writing; the epic and the chronicle have always been the main forms of pre-modern ethno history. This kind of didactic history has other characteristics: an emphasis on the heroic and dignified, a belief in the example of virtue, a story of the origins and the early wanderings of the community, perhaps also of liberation from oppression and unification, an account of the foundation of the polity, above all a myth of the golden age of warriors, saints and sages, which provides an inner standard for the community, an *exemplum virtutis* for subsequent emulation, and a spur and model for ethic regeneration (Smith, 1995). Greeks could look back to classical Athens or Justinian’s Byzantium, Romans to the early republican era of Cincinnatus and Cato, Jews to the kingdom of David and Solomon or the times of the Sages, Arabs to the Age of the Companions, Persians to the Sassanid epoch, Indians to the Vedic era, and the Chinese to the classical age of Confucius (Smith, 1984).

Now such ethno-histories are not equally distributed among the world’s populations. On the contrary, some communities are well endowed with rich, and fully documented ethno-histories, while others are bereft of their ethnic pasts, and have few records of their ancestors experiences and activities. On the whole , the major ethnies have been able, by dint mainly of political monopoly, to retain and preserve their

ethnic heritage, and especially their ethno-histories. They have full records, rich and diverse memories, well developed codes of communication, institutional record keeping and a class of specialists in the creation, preservation and transmission of such records, usually priests and scribes but also bards, prophets and artists. Many of the smaller demotic and peripheral ethnies on the other hand, such as the Croats within the former Yugoslavia, excluded from the instruments of political transmission and bereft of institutional support, and sometimes without a class of specialists and developed codes of communication, have been unable to salvage much of their ethno-histories beyond a few generations (Saunders, 1993). Their members are tenuous, their heroes shadowy and sometimes inappropriate (post civil war idolisation of the WWII Croatian Ustashe Fascists), and their traditions in the case of Croatia, entangled with those of other, more powerful neighbours, are extremely patchy, selective and poorly documented (Paul, 1985).

### **Narrating ones own culture**

The uneven diffusion of ethno history has exerted a strong influence on the course of nationalist mass mobilization, which continues right into our era of advanced modernity. We can distinguish a number of overlapping cultural phases of a process in which vertical, demotic ethnies are turned into ethnic nations. At the outset, tiny nuclei of indigenous intellectuals, exposed to the cultures of more advanced states and experiencing a crisis of legitimate authority, become fired by the desire to rediscover their communities heritage and ethnic past, and begin to realize the extent or lack of knowledge of the history and to compare it with known traditions, myths and shared memories of other communities. We might term this the first stage of historical reappropriation. Historian's linguist's and writer's attempts to rediscover the communities past and to elaborate, codify, systematize and streamline into a single coherent ethno history the various collective memories, myths and traditions that have been handed down piecemeal from generation to generation (Smith, 1995). Where there is a well established ethno-history in a canonical form, they select and use those of its components which in their judgement can serve specific political purposes.



Through these activities, first the intellectuals, then the wider stratum of professionals or intelligentsia, and finally other classes, are brought back to their real or presumed indigenous traditions and customs, languages and symbols, myths and memories, many of which are still extant in one form or another among the peasantry or in certain provinces that are deemed to retain an authentic tradition. This was the case with Dr. Franjo Tudgman (the historian and politician) and other Croatian artists and intellectuals who claim to have rediscovered an authentic and heroic past, a mythified, selective and sanitized version of the past, which harmonized their own selfish ideologies.

The recovery of an ancient ethno history, then, is the starting point for the subsequent process of vernacular mobilization. It is essential for any nationalist aspirations to be satisfied, that the chosen community be furnished with an adequate and authentic past (Denitch, 1996). This is why the concept of “authenticity” is so important (Macmillan, 1986). It attests to the originality, the self generating nature, of a given culture-commiunity. To say that an ethnies lacks an authentic culture and ethno-history is to deny its claim to national recognition (Berlin, 1976; Macmillan, 1986).

Authenticity and dignity are the hallmarks of every aspect of ethnic culture, not just its ethno-history/heritage. Of these the best known and most important is language, since it so clearly marks off those who speak it from those who cannot and because it evokes a sense of immediate expressive intimacy among its speakers. The outstanding role played by philologists, grammarians and lexicographers (Anbderson, 1983) in so many nationalisms indicates the importance so often attached to language as an authentic symbolic code embodying the unique inner experiences of the ethnies. Though language is not the only significant aspect of the nation, as so many central and especially Eastern European nationalists claimed, and as the experience of so many Asian and African nationalisms appears to have contradicted, it remains a vital symbolic realm of authentication and vernacular mobilization (Edwards, 1985).

The process of vernacular mobilization extends into other realms - to the arts of music, dance, painting, sculpture and architecture, to the national appropriation of landscapes, historical monuments and museums, and to the construction of a national political symbolism and mythology. The “vernacularization” of political symbolism is particularly important for demonstrating the irreplaceability of ethnic cultural values

in a global moral economy. For the nationalists, certain events and heroes, and certain signs, are elevated into national icons (Breuilly, 1982). In the case of post civil war Croatia, these events and heroes are always revolutionary such as the Croatian Ustashe Fascists from WWII and their criminal leader Ante Pavelic, whilst the evident sign is the Croatian coat of arms, which symbolizes independence in the pre-Habsburg golden age. All these efforts are prompted by the need to demonstrate the possession of a unique, authentic and adequate cultural heritage and ethnic past, one which will bear comparison with those of other nations. The fact that nationalist intellectuals must, so often, labour to furnish the community with these cultural values (Smith, 1995) is evidence for their very uneven diffusion, and for the burning desire in many communities to compensate for a perceived subconscious or conscious deficiency of ethno history and ethnic culture.

### **Politicising Culture and Purifying the Community**

The next phase of national regeneration moves into the political arena. It involves two processes, the politicisation of culture and the purification of the community.

As stated above, certain symbols, events, heroes and monuments of the past were endowed with new national meanings. Moses, for example was traditionally for the Jews the “master of the Prophets” and God’s greatest servant. For Zionists however, he became a national hero, a liberator of his people, a national lawgiver and leader. Likewise Muhammad in Islamic tradition is Allah’s greatest prophet and his message the final revelation, but for Arab nationalists he has become primarily a national leader of the Arabs, the founder of the Arab Islamic nation, and the greatest expression of an Arab national genius (Sharabi, 1970, Kedourie, 1992). Whole areas of the past may be similarly politicised, and their meanings transformed by a “retrospective-nationalism”. So the post-Vedic era of classical Indian city-states became the golden age of Aryan India (Kedourie, 1971), and Arjuna a prototype of the fearless patriot; and the pagan era of Chuchulain, Fin Mac Coil and the high Kings of Tara in fourth-century Ireland was now invested with heroic grandeur and became a golden age of Irish national glory (Lyons, 1979) and finally, according to the view



of Denitch (1996), Ante Pavelic and his band of Croatian outlaws have now been transformed into national heroes that initiated the struggle for liberation (Korac, 1996).

Not just the past, but also the folk culture of the present can take a political aspect. Polish, Swiss, Yugoslav, Croat or Hungarian peasant customs and institutions have become models for national life-styles and the national regeneration of an effete cosmopolitan urban class (Smith, 1995). This kind of ethnic populism, with its cultivation of peasant customs, traditions, sports and crafts, has become almost inseparable from the pursuit of national ideals. It was greatly assisted by movements of political romanticism that mobilised the intelligentsia and other strata from the early nineteenth century (Nairn, 1977). For romantics, the arts, literature, architecture, crafts, song and dance, dress and food, were all imbued with the creative, yearning spirit of the people, and demonstrated their native genius (Porter and Teich, 1988). Only by rejoining the people through their vernacular culture, could latterday urban classes “realize” themselves in their uncorrupted, authentic being.

The politicisation of native cultural heritage, therefore, often went hand in hand with the purification of the community. For post war Croatia this meant, first of all, jettisoning all “alien” cultural traits-words, customs, dress, food, artistic styles – reappropriating vernacular traits for the renewed indigenous culture. But in the Croat case it also meant the premeditated purification of the people themselves, forging the “new man” and the “new woman”, in the image of the pristine ideal found only in the idealised past of heroic mythified splendour (Smith, 1995). In the same way, Slavophile writers in nineteenth century Russia idealized the old, classless, pre-Petrine Russia and its sacred union of church, land and people under the redeemer-Tsar (Thaden, 1964).

To purify the community entailed the hardening of attitudes to foreign elements and ethnic minorities in one’s midst. Where before minorities and foreigners in the former Yugoslavia had been tolerated as millets or middleman trading enclaves, they now came to be seen not just as economic rivals, but as indigestible cultural elements, or worse, as insidiously eroding the moral fibre, heritage and biological purity of the new born Croatian nation. The desire to preserve intact the unique cultural heritage of the Croat people was soon transformed into anxiety over the threat to the destiny of the

community, a threat of impending national decline and thence into a fanatical hatred of everything alien (Smith, 1995). This in turn led to the branding of ethnic minorities, who had long lived side by side, or with majorities, albeit sometimes uneasily, as an imminent danger to the very existence and character of the nation, to be surgically removed.

So the desire to create a homogenous moral community worthy of its heroic ancestors and regenerated through its politicised, vernacular culture required the purification of its citizinery and rigorous exclusion, or destruction of everything alien. The history of the Yugoslav nation is a very good example of this progression. Starting out as a movement of romantic nationalist populism against foreign values and bourgeois capitalism, it preached the defence of the native culture and the Yugoslav Nation. But it soon degenerated into a vigorous and brutal war of ethnic cleansing, which sought the purification of every ethnic group through the militant crusade of violence and heritage sanitization against all foreigners and other Yugoslav peoples.

Today within Eastern Europe we can still witness the incipient desire to purify a reborn community. Small but vociferous movements of national regeneration urge the radical purification of the liberated nations of the East through the exclusion of their foreign elements. Movements like Pamyat (memory) in Russia or Vatra Romaneasca in Romania use ethno-religious metaphors-of mother Russia, of Russia as a holy monastery, of the chosen Slavic people, of the Romanian hearth and home – to kindle in their followers the ideal of a purified community contaminated by foreign cosmopolitan elements (Pospelovsky, 1989). Not until they have been removed can Russia (or Romania) resume their destinies and mission as the truly chosen Orthodox Slavic community (Dunlop, 1985).

In milder form, the appeal to vernacular culture and the desire to purify the community have left their marks on the movements for ethnic autonomy for ethnic autonomy in the West from the 1960s on. Few of these movements have drawn the full logical consequences of their ideal in the manner of East European movements before the war and recently. But the same desire to rejuvenate a neglected culture and community informs the Scots, Welsh, Breton, Basque, Catalan and Occitanian movements (Williams, 1982).



In all these movements, there is the same logic of vernacular mobilization, cultural politicisation and communal purification. The Breton movement sought to re-create through folksong and the arts a cultural revival (Berger, 1977; Beer, 1977), in opposition to a pervasive French cultural influence; the Welsh language society has tried to rejuvenate the Welsh language and keep the dominant English influence and peoples at bay (Williams, 1977); Croats have striven from time to time to exclude foreign elements and Serbian intrusions using racial ideas (Denitch, 1996; Korac, 1996). In each case though in varying degrees, there has been concern for a dying heritage, language, fear of ethnic and cultural admixture and decline, anxiety over the loss of traditional lifestyles, and a sometimes violent desire to mobilize the populace against the dominant ethnic power, the French, the English, and Serbs.

### **Intellectuals and their role in the manipulation of ethnic and religious Heritage within Eastern Europe**

While the secular intelligentsia play an important part in popular Western ethnic neo-nationalisms, their recent role in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union has been pivotal (Smith, 1995). Here the leadership of an even smaller stratum of “pure” or “free floating” intellectuals has been widely acknowledged (Denitch, 1996). This recalls the well known distinction of Hans Kohn, who argued that, unlike “Western nationalisms with their rational and civic character and bourgeois social base, the nationalisms of “the East” (east of the Rhine) owed their often authoritarian, mystical and “organic” character to the leadership of a small stratum of intellectuals in the absence of a bourgeoisie” (Kohn, 1967, pp 52). This, of course, is to simplify matters; intellectuals have been crucial in French and English nationalism, which are unimaginable without Rousseau and Michelet, Milton and Burke. There is, however, some truth in the linkage for the more recent era, since the command economy of the Soviet-style communism vacated the social and political space of discontent and alienation to a dissident intelligentsia (Smith, 1989), who were encouraged to link their concerns for human rights with ethnic and national grievances by the heavy handed communist policies in both areas (Kohn, 1967; Plamenatz, 1976).

Intellectuals of the “organic” kind have played important roles in Western neo-nationalisms as well; Hugh MacDiarmid in Scotland, Saunders Lewis in Wales, Yann Fouere in Brittany, Frederico Krutwig among the Basques, have prepared and articulated ethnic renaissances of their respective communities and proposed strategies for their realization. But in the East, intellectuals and professionals have been more prominent in nationalist politics (Smith, 1990; Rammet, 1989; Vardys, 1989; Glenny, 1990). The role of the intellectuals in popular movements like the Prague Spring and the Czech Velvet Revolution of 1989, the Croat Spring of the early 1970’s and the Polish solidarity movement is well known. Equally vital has been their contribution to Sajudis, the Lithuanian national movement, and to Rukh, the Ukrainian national democratic movement; many of the leaders of these movements, including the first president of an independent Croatia and Lithuania, were intellectuals (Bremmer & Taras, 1993). The intelligentsia have also been prominent in the growth of a populist Russian nationalism (Gellner, 1992), and intellectuals have played a leading role in the post-1967 growth of dissident refusenik Jewish nationalism in Russia. Indeed, one of the most pressing problems confronting the Soviet Union in its death throes was the growing demand by republican and other ethnic intelligentsias for greater political power, a demand that could not ultimately be accommodated within the existing union, or be reconciled with the claims of the many Russian settler communities in non-Russian republics.

With the breakdown of the universalism of Marxist communism, first into a polycentric national communism and thence into ethnic nationalism, the intellectuals and professionals were driven back to their respective ethnic heritages and mythologies, in the hope of realizing the messianic promise of a revolutionary transformation of society within their own communities. But theirs has been a disappointed universalism, transposed into a limited, infertile terrain, of the kind the Eduard Sheverdnadze has encountered in his native Georgia and Leonid Kvarchuk, communist turned nationalist, in the Ukraine. In other cases, resistance to communism was fuelled by long suppressed nationalism (Smith, 1995). In the former Yugoslavia the communist regime outlawed local heritage and pre WWII royalist ideologies, it was these policies that played a central role in the devolution of the Yugoslav state following the death of Marshall Tito.



In the Czechoslovakia of then late 1980's, Vaclav Havel and his civic forum merged their concerns for human rights with a steadfast national solidarity in the face of a Russian-backed Soviet-style regime (Paul, 1985). But, beneath the surface, the tensions between the poorer Catholic regions of Slovakia and the more advanced and Westernized Czech society – tensions that had found clear expression in their different regimes and statuses during the Second World War – injected a powerful note of ethnic nationalism into the aftermath of the Velvet revolution, preparing the way for the peaceful dissolution of Czechoslovakia (Glenny, 1990). It may not be possible to trace with ease the recent parting of the ways to the different cultural backgrounds, histories and linguistic traditions of the Czech and Slovak ethnies and their homelands, and the uses to which they have been put by elites on both sides. But the uneven depth and distribution of their ethno-heritage, the former peripheral status and overshadowing of the Slovaks by their currently better equipped neighbours, and the Slovaks desire to assert their national individuality (Brock, 1976), form the cultural substratum, basic parameters and historical legitimations of recent political movements and actions.

The role of such ethnic memories, myths and symbols, and their uses by intellectuals, politicians, and other elites, have been the subject of considerable debate in accounting for the recent conflicts in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union (Denitch, 1996). Few would dispute the centrality of intellectuals and professionals in the leadership of many ethnic nationalisms in these countries, but their role is viewed in quite different terms by instrumentalists and primordialists. The former see the intellectuals as fashioning and orchestrating national conflicts through their manipulation of ethnic memories, symbols and myths; their pursuit of rational strategies based on their economic and status interests largely determines the shape and content of so many ethnic nationalisms in Eastern Europe, the Balkans and the former Soviet Union. According to Smith (1995, pp79) this is especially true of the former Yugoslavia: Franjo Tudjman the historian confronts Radovan Karadzich the poet, but both construe and fashion the symbols and goals of the conflict they have done so much to guide for their own partisan ends. Primordialists on the other hand are inclined to minimize the role of the elites, including intellectuals, and to trace the sources of the Serbo-Croat conflict to underlying historic antagonisms of which the



intellectuals are merely the articulators and executors (Jelavich, 1983). In this view, deep religious differences and historic conflicts going back to the medieval epoch, as well as the very trajectories of Serbs and Croats under the Ottoman and Habsburg empires, have produced the collective antipathies so brutally manifested in the massacres of the Second World War and again today (Posen, 1993).

Neither position seems adequate to explain the complexities of these conflicts. Serbo-Croat hatred (and brotherhood) are in fact fairly recent, going back to the 1920's at the earliest (Stavrianos, 1961), when they were first incorporated into a single Serb-dominated (Smith, 1995) Yugoslav kingdom; before that time; despite some intellectuals dreams of south Slavic unity in the early nineteenth century Illyrian movement, the two peoples had separate political traditions and heritages, and were separated by rival empires (the Serbs with the Ottoman empire and the Croats with the Austro-Hungarian empire). On the other hand, the political manipulations of Serb and Croat intellectuals could become effective only where sufficient members of their ethnically designated constituencies were ready to respond to the call of ethnicity and the content of its myths, memories and symbols. Moreover, if religion is today more a "badge" of ethnicity than a profound spiritual force in the former Yugoslavia, its political potency derives from centuries of cultural differences and social exclusion between Serbs, Croats and latterly Muslims which have become part of the fabric of society in the Balkans (Kitromilides, 1989). What remains and what can and has been used to such devastating effect, is a rich harvest of symbols, memories, myths and traditions in which epics of battles, legends of sages and saints, and ballads of heroes and bandits, are handed down from generation to generation as living cultural traditions of the people in the small towns and villages. It is in the intellectual and popular uses, and limits, of these fundamental symbolic components of ethnicity that we must search for more adequate answers to the variations of inter-ethnic relations and the invocation of nationalism as the ultimate political and territorial solution to ethnic relations in mixed areas (Kitromilides, 1989).

The role of intellectuals and professionals must therefore be placed within this longer historical setting and broader cultural context. The pivot of this analysis can be neither the aims and activities of the intellectual, professional and other elites, nor the mass sentiments and memories of the common people, but the often complex relationships



between the two (Gouldner, 1979; Kedourie, 1979). In the social and political role of the intelligentsia we see a microcosm of our initial paradox: the well known by now “crisis of identity” which afflicts so many educated men and women, as they move from a more restricted and traditional form of society to one that is more open, mobile and pluralistic, mirrors the contradictions of the wider society. The education of the modernizing intellectuals and professionals, with its culture of critical discourse, and its universalistic rational and technical ethos, binds them to their counterparts in every land (Shils, 1960). On the other hand, by separating them from their ethnic kinsmen, from “the people” professional rationalism sets up countervailing emotional and cultural pressures of alienation that can only be resolved by a new type of identity and community, one based on vernacular mobilization and the reappropriation of authentic history: that of the modern nation, an autonomous political community in which intellectuals and professionals may apply their skills and training, but in the service of the people, their ethnic and civic compatriots (Anderson, 1983).

This process of reappropriating an ethnic past has also helped to foster a powerful religious revival. The return of many secular Muslims in Bosnia to Islam, the growth of strong Islamic movements among the Islamic communities of the West and the vigorous, sometimes fanatical, espousal of Islam in Hinduism on the Indian subcontinent, even the return of nationalist Orthodoxy in Russia, are all related to the intensification of ethnic ties and a sense of ethnic election among embattled ethnic communities in what they feel to be an alien, if not hostile, environment. This is coupled with a deep ambivalence over the values of modernity. On the one hand, the technological, economic, and military power associated with Western modernity commands respect, even emulation; on the other hand there is revulsion against what appears to be the social and moral breakdown engendered by unregulated rationalism and unbridled progress. This revulsion quickly takes on religious and ethnic dimensions. “The West” or “Western Christianity” is categorized as the other in relation to which “the pure”, “the noble” and “the elect” must realize their true worth and find redemption. This logically means the rejection of “Western or foreign values” in favour of the retention of traditional family structures and ethnic values, ancient customs and communal faiths. It is, however, through their ethnic exemplifications that the Islamic, Hindu, Orthodox, Jewish and Buddhist revivals

become politically effective: in Iran, Syria and Algeria, in India, the former Yugoslavia, Russia and Israel, In Sri-Lanka Burma and Tibet. This is true even of the Shi'a revolution which threatened to engulf the Middle East. Its roots and growth in Iran ensured a strong influence of Iranian nationalism over the political expressions and activities of Shi'a Muslim revolutionaries as well as of Iranian clerics and centres of learning.

Herein lies a particularly acute contradiction. The spread of global patterns of politics and communications have helped to revive the ethnic ties of many communities through the return by many people to religion and religious mythologies, particularly in India, the middle East, and Africa. But this is not a collective response of fear and protest against the pressures of globalisation in its Western forms. This revival is not to be found in some Western and Westernised heartlands of modernity, too: in America, the Netherlands and Japan, Israel, Poland, Ireland and most intensely in the former Yugoslavia. The pre and post war Croatian tendency to justify Serb animosity through a plethora of mythological conspiracies, one of which was religion, served as a dividing barrier among the south Slavic peoples within the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. In such cases as the above, religious mythologies act as guarantors of the redemption of oppressed ethnies (Smith, 1995) or reinstators of bypassed ethnic values and lifestyles. Through the historical myths of the resurgent religion and its chosen bearers, the forces of modernity can be brought under control and made to serve the interests of aspirant or marginalized classes and ethnies (Smith, 1974).

### **Fragmenting the Eastern Subject: Identity as influenced by Ethnic Heritage**

*"who controls the past controls the future. Who controls the present controls the past"*

*George Orwell 1984, 1989, pp 32*

This section aims to provide pragmatic examples of how the contemporary fragmentation of ethnic identity has been effected by ethnic heritage consumption/



manipulation within East Europe through a retrospective analysis of the manipulation of the past in East Slav history.

Several generations of Soviet people have breathed a heavy ideological smog (Denitch, 1994). History has been falsified. "I believe that the process was at its worst when the drive for perestroika began" (Afanasyev & Sirotkin, pp 1). Virtually every period, event and issue had been misrepresented until relatively recently. The majority of history books followed suit, with certain events being passed over in silence. Soviet history suffered most, with almost everything that preceded perestroika being liable to Stalinist interpretation.

At the turn of this century French historians interpreted the history of France in such a way as to present some of the Kings as republicans, while the rest were seen as anti-republicans. The "republican" kings were the ones who extended the borders of the state, strengthened national unity and promoted the enrichment of France. Stalin used to interpret Soviet history in much the same way, with the things he approved of being extolled by historians. Under Ivan the terrible, who was fighting the Boyars or nobles, positive achievements were viewed as the creation of punitive bodies, the Oprichnina (guards) and the police. Before him, Ivan III began the unification of Russian lands and produced the imperial ideology: Moscow, the third Rome. Stalin liked Peter the Great for his barbaric methods of building a new Russia. It is for this reason that Soviet historians are now facing the difficult task of correcting the Stalinist vision of history, beginning with the ancient Rus of a thousand years ago (Afanasyev & Sirotkin, 1989).

Another aftermath of Stalinism is that the Soviet people have become used to a top-sided view of their history and national heritage. Revolutionary democratic traditions were dished out without the inherent contradictions in them being explained – these were simply ignored. Historical consciousness in Russia has been maimed (Lesic, 1995). And it is historical consciousness that forms our vision of the world and our place in it. Historical consciousness also determines the way in which the former communist states are run, their fake national history inhibits the development of the national economy.

Stalins regime was unnatural, illegal, and contradicted the ideas, traditions and history of socialism. It was imposed by force, using mass criminal reprisals. To make it

appear legitimate there had to be a fake history (Afanasyev & Sirotkin, 1989). People had to think uniformly – to understand and believe things in the same distorted way. Russia is now feeling the results. “Sow the wind and reap the whirlwind”, as the saying goes.

The treatment of Soviet history and the restoration of historical truth have become two of the most acute and dramatic pages in the story of societies process of renovation. “This year even secondary schools had to cancel graduation exams in Soviet history, because it would be immoral to repeat the lies contained in the text books about “enemies of the people” and so on. The textbooks and teaching aids for all levels of education are still far from genuinely scientific history” (Korac, 1996). They are still permeated from dogmas inherited from Stalin’s personality cult and the stagnation period under Brezhnev. The quality of the history books has to become dependent primarily on their scientific levels, rather than claims to a single, inviolable historical truth. The Russian people have already witnessed instances when historical truth has been substituted for interpretations which are more advantageous.

Afanasyev & Sirotkin (1989) further develop the preceding argument by stating that within the Soviet Union there is nothing of the kind, so the process of charting history in an epistemological manner would have to start from scratch.

Heritage is still being manipulated within contemporary Russia. President Vladimir Putin has set about to reconstruct, cleanse and merge Soviet and pre Soviet symbols in order to obliterate the Soviet era and offer the post-modern Russian a new sense of identity/heritage in an already profoundly fragmented post Communist era. Putin has re-introduced pre Soviet Royal symbols such as the double-headed Romanov eagle, a symbol that had been banned for decades by precedent communist rule. Putin is now attempting to reconstruct the Russian educational system in order to erase the soviet era/heritage, whilst manufacturing a new breed of Russian individuals, which will be more xeno-friendly and more in association with contemporary western society.

Gallagher (1999) states that Yugoslav intellectuals, much like their Russian counterparts were also encouraged to explore the past and all too often invent glorious historical pedigrees meant to give the reborn Yugoslav nationalisms the inalienable right to enjoy contemporary greatness.



**Yugoslav Heritage**  
**The National Ethnic Makeup of the Former Yugoslavia**

Serbs, Croats, Muslims, and the overwhelming majority of the “Yugoslavs”- that is, at least 83 percent of the population of the former Yugoslavia (refer to Table 1), speak one language. That language is Serbo-Croatian or Croato-Serbian. Narrow sectarian nationalists have tried to invent sufficient differences between the Croat Version of the language and the others to be able to call it a different language. Since the language was standardized in the mid-nineteenth century around the Herzegovinian dialect, it has been one language. It is written in the Latin alphabet in Croatia and the Latin and Cyrillic alphabets in Serbia, Vojvodina, Montenegro, and Bosnia-Herzegovina. The differences between the literary versions are tremendous and unless one was educated in reading the “other” written form it would be almost impossible.

**Table 1**  
**Breakdown of the Yugoslav Population in 1981 (last national Yugoslav census)**  
**According to Principle Groups**

| <b><u>Group</u></b> | <b><u>Population</u></b> | <b><u>Percentage of Total Population</u></b> |
|---------------------|--------------------------|--|
| Serbs               | 8,140,000                | 36.3   |
| Croats              | 4,428,000                | 19.8   |
| Muslims             | 2,000,000                | 8.9  |
| Slovenes            | 1,754,000                | 7.8  |
| Albanians           | 1,730,000                | 7.7  |
| Macedonians         | 1,340,000                | 6.0  |
| “Yugoslavs”         | 1,219,000                | 5.4  |
| Montenigrins        | 579,000                  | 2.6  |
| Hungarians          | 427,000                  | 1.9  |

*Denitch, 1994, pp 29*

There are clearly distinct regional dialects in between the Croats and the Serbs. However, Serbs and Croats, and Muslims for that matter, of a given region tend to speak the same dialect. Some minor differences may exist, but they are mostly a function of education and class. The only firm, identifiable difference between Serbs and Croats is religious – Croats are Catholic, and Serbs are members of the Serbian Orthodox church. The tiny numbers of protestant converts barely affect this reality . Muslims by “Nationality” are unsurprisingly mostly Muslim by confession or if nonbelievers are descendents of muslims.

Religion is the most commonly used historic and ethnic identifier, just as in Northern Ireland. This was brought home to me a few years ago in Cyprus when I was in a conversation with a Serb the question of “what is your religion” came up and I answered it as “I am an atheist” to which he immediately replied “I know all you damned intellectuals are atheist, but are you a Catholic, Orthodox, or Muslim atheist? What is your nationality damn it!!!!”

This neat division of groups along religious lines was not always historically so. There were Catholic Serbs around Dubrovnik at the beginning of the century and some Orthodox Croats. There were Muslims who identified themselves as Croats or Serbs. There were even some Yugoslavs once upon a time. However, by and large that is, regrettably, the past. Both the churches and the nationalists have laboured mightily to get close to a hundred percent fit between religion and ethnic identity among Serbo-Croat speakers and have tended to reinforce ethnic - religious - heritage and nationalism rather than any sort of “religious” universalism. The churches are indeed both militant and national in the former Yugoslav lands. The two identities thus reinforce each other.

Slovenes and Macedonians speak distinctly different South Slav languages with Macedonian being somewhat closer to Bulgarian than to Serbo-Croatian. The other two major language are Hungarian, spoken by roughly one-quarter of a million civilians; and Albanian spoken by two million people in Kosovo, southern Serbia, and Macedonia. These are the official languages of the former Yugoslavia and its various republics and provinces.



### **Core and Peripheral ethnies in the former Yugoslavia: Heritage and Disparity**

An important ethnic legacy from pre-modern epochs has been the survival of many so-called peripheral ethnies. These are usually demotic or vertical (Vertical ethnies are territorially more compact (Smith, 1995), their ethnic culture spreads to all classes of the community and barriers to entry tend to be high) in character. Examples from the West would include the Quebecois, Basques, Catalans, Corsicans, Bretons, Welsh, Scots, Frisians to name but a few; Within Eastern Europe there are the Bosnians Croats, Lithuanians, Slovaks, Macedonians, Slovenians. These ethnic communities have in the past stood (and in some cases still stand) in relations of alienation and subordination to larger, dominant ethnies whose elites ruled the state into which they had centuries ago been incorporated by expansionist lords and monarchs, or more recently by European colonial powers (Stone, 1979). The leaders of these peripheral ethnies, or the leaders of movements claiming to speak on their behalf, frequently contend that their communities were or continue to be exploited and oppressed in varying degrees (Uzelak, 1998). In the past, social, cultural, historical and political issues formed the basis of protest. Today economic and historical issues predominate, with the peripheral communities claiming their heritage has been manipulated or withheld by their dominating neighbours in a premeditated attempt to rob them of their ethnic identities and their labour and resources are exploited, their regions are neglected or marginalized by governments dominated by the core or strategic ethnie within the state (Uzelak, 1998).

There are a number of aspects to this situation. First, as noted before, modern Western states have been built up on the basis of “core” ethnies – Castillians, French, English, Swedes- whose elites and monarchs forged strong states which then incorporated surrounding minority populations (Orridge, 1982). A similar principle applied to other areas of Europe, though with less success: in Russia, Poland, Hungary and Yugoslavia. In the Eastern European cases, there was a dominant ethnie around which constructed/fabricated the core of the state- Russians, Lithuanians, Poles, Magyars. Serbs - but the territory of the state included a number of significant “peripheral” ethnies: Ukrainians and Tatars, Jews, Gypsies, Croats, Muslims, etc (Sugar &

Lederer, 1969). This “mosaic” of dominant and subordinate, centre and periphery ethnic relations has formed the historical background to the rise of the national state in much of Eastern Europe, but it can be also found outside.

Second in relation to Yugoslavia and its dominant ethnic, the incorporated ethnic communities of Croats, Bosnians, Muslims, Slovenians, Macedonians were treated as sociological minorities (Sugar & Lederer, 1969). That is to say, they were not minorities in numerical terms, they were marginalized and discriminated against, in varying degrees following the death of Marshall Tito. As Michael Hunter has documented, such minorities were subject to a whole series of economic exploitations, social exclusions, and cultural discriminations through which arose a historical confusion with regards to their ethnic identity. Their economies were distorted to suit the market and economy needs of the dominant Serbian ethnic, their heritage was manipulated/withheld/cleansed in order to reflect the expansionist ideology of the authoritarian Serbs, their skilled labour was often forced to emigrate, their elites were culturally assimilated, high status positions were always reserved for members of the dominant Serbian ethnic, social welfare for minority communities was restricted, and there was a much higher rate of social alienation among the Yugoslav minorities (Smith, 1995).

Third, Yugoslav ethnic minorities retained into the modern epoch a sense of their historical distinctiveness. They remained, in varying degrees, separate from the culture of the state and of the dominant Serb ethnic. This could result as much from the “frozen” subordinate status as from any penetration of trade and capitalism. We find ethnic communities retaining a sense of their cultural separateness in the former Yugoslavia through the use of heritage and the past (Perica, 2000). Within all the ethnic groups in the Former Yugoslavia some traditions, values, historical myths and symbols that distinguished the minority from the culture of the dominant Serbian ethnic and the state, retained their hold on segments of the Yugoslav population (Armstrong, 1976; Povrzanovic, 1993).



## Heritage manipulation and the Yugoslav subject: Tito's legacy of commodification

Within the preceding sections I have highlighted a history of heritage manipulation within the West and more specifically in the Eastern block. Before proceeding with this section I feel it is necessary to explain the lack of empirical data concerning heritage interpretation within the former Yugoslavia. In the five decades of Yugoslav control over the South Slavic region the Communist regime never allowed a natural ideological opposition to develop, thus all individuals daring enough to voice their opinions upon the tampering of the past were swiftly exiled (Denitch, 1996). What was left was a intellectual wasteland, a trouble-free hunting ground for charlatans and demagogues who twisted historical accuracy in order to achieve their own ego centred ambitions and goals. Due to the five decades of commodification the only remnants of historical truth now lie within the memories of the older generations who are still capable, and willing to recall heritage as it genuinely was. My research concentrates specifically upon the recollections of both the young and the old, which have been analysed in order to develop theory and obtain historical accuracy and an understanding of the effects of historical manipulation upon the ideological stability of the individual subject.

Yugoslav heritage, both pre and post civil war, is what I describe as “living” heritage and has been consistently transformed and manipulated by “political” ambition and not economic gain or individual thoughts upon the authenticity of the representations on hand. The term living heritage in the Yugoslavia rationalizes the fanatical stance of the Yugoslav authorities towards the past. In Yugoslavia the past has been manipulated on so many occasions that it has left the “contemporary” consumer of heritage highly fragmented and ensnared within the past whilst attempting to define his or her self/identity.

Krawchenko (1985) claims that in post WWII Yugoslavia, Croatian similarly to Ukrainian was forbidden in schools both as a language of instruction and as a subject in the hope that with time the national identity and heritage of the Croat and Ukrainian nation would melt within a cultural mixing pot and that these peripheral individual

ethnic heritages would in some way be consumed and combine within the dominant ethnies to which they belonged to.

History has always been political (Phillips, 1998) in the former Yugoslavia, yet in terms of the overwhelming political interest in the field following the end of World War II, the teaching and representation of the subject within the heritage sector was particularly controversial and only offered a one sided/manipulated view of the past, this was reflected in the thousands of history-related letters, articles and editorials in the press, movies concentrating on the subject of the unification of the nation in WWII, and also in the endless references to the subject by party officials and representatives. According to Phillips (1998) it is rather difficult to fully understand the ways in which the subject consumes his/her heritage within the social setting. Yet these “manipulated” interpretations of the past may have been crucial to the creation of individual and collective identities in the former Yugoslavia.

After the end of WWII the growth of interest in the past within post war Yugoslavia was forcefully expressed on behalf of the party through the cult of “historical” or “period piece” films, all of which concentrated upon the unification of the member states of the former Yugoslavia, the creation of the partisans and the final defeat of the German invader. The historical film or drama has always been a powerful tool in the hands of the Great Marshal Tito and even academics now recognize that films have forced historians to “offer a new relationship to the world of the past” and to “revolutionize our notions of the past” (Rosenstone, 1995, pp 12-13). Wollen (1991) has argued that the proliferation of films, which create a idyllic, sanitized, sentimental vision of the past, derive their nostalgic impetus from uncertainty and rapid change. Woollen suggests that this retrospection holds nationhood exclusively in its sights. Their nostalgic interpretations of the past yearn for a nation in which social status is known and kept, and where difference constitutes rather than fragments national unity. It is possible to speculate about the powerful impact of such images on the subject, locking them into sentimental “visions of an old country” (Wright, 1985) that has allegedly always been as one.

According to Chris Hedges (1997), in Yugoslavia under the watchful eye of Marshal Tito and the pre civil war communist regime, all students were exposed to the same



set of history books, all of which contained the party's official version of manipulated historical truths. It is this inherent, insistent and long lasting manipulation of natural historical evolution that currently fragments the individual subjects sense of ethnic and individual identity within post-modern Croatia.

Denitch (1996) states that for four decades Yosip Broz Tito and the Yugoslav communist rulers relentlessly propagated "brotherhood and unity", and punished even mild expressions of chauvinism and ethnic hostility. Just before and during the war the public was relentlessly pushed by their more sophisticated urban political leaders and nationally orientated intellectuals and writers to become nationalists. This sense of nationalism was intensified through the portrayal of the supposed aggressive members of the former Yugoslavia as "the other ethnos", which had committed unspeakable crimes against "our very own people in the past". Decency and morality were betrayed by the clerks of the intelligentsia. The politicians betrayed nothing. For them nationalism was and remains a means of staying or rising into power.

### **World War Two Massacres: The Present Burden of Ethnic Heritage**

In addition to the heavy losses from the civilian war and resistance in 1911-1945, dreadful massacres of civilians took place throughout Yugoslavia. The worst were conducted by the Ustashe against the Serbian population in Croatia and Bosnia. They also murdered left wing Croats and the Jews and Gypsies that came within their jurisdiction. One of the more notorious death camps in Nazi occupied Europe was run by the Croat fascist Ustashe at Jasenovac.

Equal in number, even though the perpetrators did not hold state power under the Nazis, were the brutal massacres committed by the Serbian Chetniks (of all varieties) against Muslim civilians in Bosnia, Montenegro, and the Sanjak area of Serbia, as well as against Croat villagers. To these must be added the Hungarian massacres of Serbs in Vojvodina; Albanian and Bulgarian brutality against the Serbs; and the burning of villages by Italians. Germans massacred tens of thousands of civilians, mostly in Serbia, in reprisal for the resistance and deported large numbers to forced labour camps. Most of the Jews in Yugoslavia were exterminated. The few who

survived were either in the Italian occupation zone and managed to get to Italy or were in the resistance or liberated territories (Denitch, 1994).

The victorious partisans and the Yugoslav National Army – their acts inspired by ideology rather than nationalism – added their own brutal revenge to the totals of war dead by inexcusable, massive executions of tens of thousands of the surrendered die hard remnants of the Ustashe, the Croat Domobran (Home Guard) army, and Serbian Chetniks. These were mostly captured in the last days of the war in Austria and returned by the British to Yugoslavia. The Communists also executed large numbers of real or imagined internal enemies during and immediately after the war. Huge proportions of the total wartime casualties were slaughtered because of national and communal hatreds and massacres and counter massacres, rather than because of the side they had taken in the war.

The massacres committed during the Second World War have not become merely historical facts. They are part of the present-day politico-historical scene. They are politically almost as powerful as the history of the holocaust is in Israeli politics today. They are just as often misused for narrow political and partisan ends (Denitch, 1994). They represent the basis for what appear to be wild charges and counter charges of past attempts at genocide, charges that have been used in the currently past civil war to justify the murder of countrymen and countrywomen (Korac, 1996) and , and charges that will be used again in the future to justify new rounds of killing, maybe this time within newborn rounds of ethnic cleansing within the newly formed republics of the former Yugoslavia.

For example, grossly exaggerated numbers of wartime massacres of Serbs in Croatia have been used by nationalist publicists to justify the revolt of the Serbs in Croatia against the government that through insensitivity and deliberate ideological manipulation (Denitch, 1996), seems to identify with the Nazi sponsored independent state of Croatia, which had perpetrated the massacres. The Yugoslav army and the Serbian government have cited the wartime massacres as justification for their recently ended murderous war against Croatia. The fact that Germany and Austria have been the most active and aggressive defenders of a separate Croatia confirms the fears of many that history is in a sense repeating itself. Croatian nationalists cite equally exaggerated numbers for partisan executions and massacres at the end of the



war to justify their hatred of Yugoslavia and of the Serbs who played a major role in the partisan movement.

### **The Political Manipulation of Wartime Heritage**

Dreadful as the real massacres were, the facts and numbers about them have been distorted and politicized beyond all resemblance of reality by nationalist revenge seekers, nationalists journalists, historians, and politicians. A number of factors were involved in how the numbers were calculated. It is clear, however, that the official Yugoslav figures submitted right after the war were exaggerated in order to maximize the war reparation from Germany. According to Denitch (1994) there are different valid ways to calculate losses. For example the, the following are some valid statistics published by Zjeravic (1941) that can be combined and used for various purposes:

- 1) Gross demographic losses, including potential births: 2,022,000
- 2) Emigration caused by the war (this involved mostly the German minority and some collaborators and their families): 669,000
- 3) Total wartime casualties: 1,027,000
- 4) Losses abroad (concentration camps): 80,000
- 5) Casualties in the country: 947,000

*Zjeravic, 1941*

The real losses were thus around one million, for all wartime casualties. These are quite dreadful losses for a country whose population numbered just under sixteen million in 1941. No exaggeration of the real should be necessary to make the point that the massacres were a terrible crime against humanity and must not be allowed to occur again (Tomasevich, 1978). However, in the poisoned nationalist polemics of the present, all sides try to exaggerate their own losses. Roughly 530,000 of the civilian and the combatant casualties were Serb and Montenegrins. The breakdown illustrates to what extent the partisan war was both a civil war and a revolution:

- 1) Combatants (partisans and Yugoslav army): 237,000
- 2) Collaborationist troops: 209,000
- 3) Civilian victims (all nationalities, all causes): 501,000

Some things logically follow from these grim statistics. To begin with, if they are even roughly accurate, it is clear that it was not possible for the Serbs to have had two million wartime casualties, as their more extreme nationalists claim. The total number of all war casualties – Serbs, Croats, Muslims, and the Jewish and Gypsy dead – is slightly over one million. By the same token it is not possible for the notorious Croatian death camp in Jasenovac to have accounted for more than one hundred thousand casualties. That would be a terrible figure but still not the one million or seven hundred thousand cited by the Serbian nationalists (Wolff, 1956).

There are the victims from other camps and places to be accounted for – those dumped in numberless caves and pits; those murdered and massacred in the villages throughout Kraina and Slavonia. That is were the war was raging up to five years ago, in no small part because of the massacres fifty years ago. Then there were the massacres of the Muslims, Croats, and leftist Serbs in Serbia by the Serbian nationalist Chetniks. Further, it is necessary to account for the reprisals throughout Serbia by the Germans and for all the rest of the wartime victims of the occupation. There were also the massacres of the collaborators, or those thought to have been collaborators by the victorious Communists during and after the war.

There were, in short far too many dead and far too many killers and people who collaborated with the killers. The memory of the victims is not honoured by the gross exaggerations of their numbers in the name of vengeance toward the fellow nationals of those who carried out the massacres and who were most probably not even born at the time. Democracy and law abiding society require that people be responsible only for their own personal guilt, not that of their family, tribe, or nation. In any case, the most obviously guilty were the Nazi Germans who made this whole murderous tragedy possible (Tomasevich, 1975).



## **The World War II argument: Settling old scores**

As we have seen in the earlier sections, Josip Broz Tito had utilised Heritage in order to develop a distinct ethnic identity for the post war Yugoslav subject. Following the death of Marshall Tito heritage was reversly employed by the Serb controlled government in manufacturing ethnic tension amongst the members of the former Yugoslavia, and illuminating a fabricated argument concerning Croatian ethnic heritage during the Second World War.

Throughout the early anti Croat stance (1992-1996) by various nations (Greece, Cyprus, Israel, Russia, etc. etc.) a central theme constantly recurs, which is aimed at elucidating the historical roots of the destruction of the former Yugoslavia. It has been described as the World War II argument (Primoratz, 1996). It goes like this:

1.The current war in ex-Yugoslavia must be understood as the direct “historical” continuation of what happened in Yugoslavia in World War II.

2.In those years, the Croats and Muslims were on the side of the Nazis. The Serbs, on the other hand, fought against the Nazis.

Mr. Yosef Lapid, one of the most prominent personalities in the Israeli media has used this argument and commented that “we Jews have a clear and irrevocable "historical obligation" to the Serbs to be at their side and give them all the sympathy and support we can, "no matter what they might do."” (Grossman, 1992).

This argument has been used by Serbian propaganda in its attempts to win sympathy and support of the international community during the early part of the war (Cohen, 1996). In fact it has been used by every activist of the Serbian lobby on practically every occasion over the last six decades. Moreover, this is the argument I have been hearing since the beginning of the disintegration of Yugoslavia and to this day from innumerable, secular and religious groups, at various walks of life and educational and ethnic backgrounds, including many members of the intellectual elite (and that means quite a few individuals perceived, by themselves and others, as being deeply concerned with the moral aspects of politics and issues of justice, equality, and human

rights, and completely free of any tribalistic mentality). I have heard this from Holocaust survivors too.

Faced with this argument, one might want to ask two questions: are the historical claims true and, if so, are they capable of deciding the moral and political issue here and now? Anybody who knows anything about the history of Yugoslavia knows that the historical claims are false - or, more accurately, that they amount to a half-truth, which has rightly been called the most dangerous kind of lie. For every Yugoslav nation had both its collaborators and its partisans, in fact every allied nation in the second world war had its heroes and collaborators or spies who shared in Adolf Hitler's vision of global politics. In the case of Croatia (just like most of Europe at the time), the ratio between the two was particularly asymmetrical: while the Ustashe numbered in the tens of thousands, Croat partisans numbered in the hundreds of thousands. But I want to focus on the second question. Let us assume, for the sake of argument, that the factual, historical part of the World War II argument is true - that practically all Croats old enough at the time to do so did opt for Nazi Germany and the puppet Ustasha state set up in Croatia, and took part in the crimes that state committed during the war, or at least supported the committing of those crimes in some way. Would it still be considered logical to persecute an entire nation for the sins of a select few of their ancestors? (Primoratz, 1996)

Even after being exposed to it time and again for almost a decade now, I still find the World War II argument quite extraordinary... illogical in a sense. For what it says is that the wholesale slaughter of Croat civilians and the devastation of their country that has taken place is somehow justified, indeed deserved, by the misdeeds the parents and grandparents of these Croats committed half a century ago. But how and why? The idea does not begin to make sense - except if one adopts a distinct Eastern type of moral reasoning that is alien to modern Western civilisation, since it contradicts one of its basic notions: that of individual, rather than collective, responsibility. Since the "discovery of the individual" in the Renaissance and the Reformation, our civilisation has held, ever more clearly and consistently, that a human being is to be understood and judged in light of his or her free choices and actions, and not on the basis of membership in some objectively defined group, a fact independent of the individual's will and conduct ever more clearly and consistently - but, of course, there have been



setbacks. In our century, in particular, there was one world outlook that adopted the view that individual human beings, just like animals, are to be seen and judged in terms of the biologically defined groups to which they belong. That was Nazism, and the Jews of Europe were its greatest victims. Actually, without this collective, biological view of humanity and responsibility, the Holocaust becomes utterly incomprehensible (Maclean, Montefiore, Winch , 1990)

Of course, it is this same view of collective, biological responsibility that has led the supporters of Greater Serbian ideology to wage the war of devastation, genocide, and "ethnic cleansing" (Korac, 1996) on Croatia Bosnia-Herzegovina and now Kosovo, to engage in "ethnic cleansing" within Serbia itself, and to impose a system of apartheid on the Albanians in Kosovo. And it is on account of this crucial tenet of Greater Serbian ideology and the practices it logically leads to that the Belgrade regime has been characterised by so many, including the antiwar circles in Serbia, as being truly neo-Nazi (Primoratz, 1996).

What I still find quite unbelievable is that today, whilst we have witnessed the first case of genocide in Europe since the Holocaust, there should be various individuals and ethnies, especially Jews, of all people, showing understanding, sympathy, and support for Croatia, and condemning Serb actions instead of elucidating their understanding, sympathy, and support for in this case Neo - Nazi Serbs in terms of the World War II argument.

### **Transcending the fragmented Yugoslav “modern”, to a manipulated Croatian “post-war” version of heritage**

Ever since the 1945 liberation of Yugoslavia from the Nazi, Croatian, Serbian and Italian Fascists, the importance of creating a national heritage has been seen as a necessity (Dentich 1996). One of the ways Marshal Tito attempted to merge the heritage and culture of the five member nations of the Yugoslav Republic was to increase the number of museums and heritage sites dedicated to a common history. Yugoslavia though from its very fabrication was never a commonly desired entity, as Coulson (1993) has correctly pointed out, the Communist party itself felt some ambivalence about the notion of Yugoslavianism. For example ever since the 1961

census, the status of Yugoslav as a category was offered as one option among other possible national identities (i.e. Croat, Serb, Slovenian, Bosnian), but it was never recognised as a nationality and/or national identity (M. Korac 1996). However, in June 1991 the Croatian and Slovenian governments declared independence from the Yugoslav Federation. What ensued was a war which lasted until 1996. Following the end of the war, the Croatian and Serbian intelligentsia committed what Dentich (1996) termed the utmost treason, in betraying their vocations whilst attempting to rewrite history in an endeavour to offer their nation a new sense of belonging, identity, heritage, and a convenient and acceptable past. The post war need for a Croat interpretation of the past has provoked a romanticised perception of Croatian history. This is reflected in a constant new stream of festivals celebrating battles fought and won in the civil war, and the idolisation of, for example, the Ustashe Fascists, from the antecedent world war (Dentich 1996). Faced by an enormous post-war need to understand the past, and to rebuild a once thriving tourism infrastructure, the intelligentsia and government have concentrated on museums and heritage sites, as a way of constructing and marketing history, in an image that reinforces the ideas of the day (Dentich 1996).

The recent existence in Croatia of a separate history or “official history” which reflects the distinctive cultural legacies and peculiar historical inheritances of the constituent parts of the Croatian nation are significant and were achieved through a one sided political view of the past. The “great historical debate” in Croatia that attempted to retrace the nations true origins was nothing more than a struggle for culture, national identity and, for hegemony (Phillips, 1992). Politicians within the new born state recognized as Tito did before them the ideological and cultural significance of the subject. As Kaye (1996) has emphasised, governments have traditionally “feared history” for this reason.

The authoritarian and populist imagery of the government controlled press, particularly the images and the language it uses in the cultivation of a discourse on nationhood and “race” (Fowler, 1991) have had an immense impact upon the individual subject in post war Croatia. Throughout the 90’s the press has consistently cultivated an essentially patriotic vision of Croatia and Croatianess and very often an explicitly distorted anti-Europeanism, often using inaccurately interpreted historical



images of European neglect, conspiracy, and jealousy in the process. There is no better illustration of this than the recent anti-British phobia whipped up by the tabloids, often using reference and analogies relating to the forced unification of Croatia to Yugoslavia, The Blaiburg massacre, and the minimal level of interest displayed by Britain towards the ethnic cleansing during the civil war. The reaction of the subject to these views of heritage is open to debate, but it is likely that they either directly or indirectly contribute to what Billig (1995) has called “banal” nationalism, that is the view of nationhood which is often nostalgic and sometimes xenophobic and cultivated through popular images, for example, the Croatian coat of arms or traditional historical images and heroes. Denitch (1996) reinforces Billig's view of “Banal” nationalism and states that many otherwise reasonable Croats saw nothing wrong with adopting National symbols, images, totems and songs that would remind their restive and suspicious Serbian minority of the Croat Ustasha genocidal fascist state of 1941 - 1945 when they declared independence in 1991 and the intelligentsia went forth to recreate and purify their own national identities/ heritage.

According to Denitch (1996) the post-war Croatian government has indulged in the crudest form of fascistic chauvinism, this indulgence is evidenced by the fact that streets and squares have been named after Ustasha heroes and that some official units of the Croat armed forces are named after Ustasha murderers who were sentenced to death by the precedent communist regime after WWII. It seems that heritage has been once more twisted to suit a new born political right wing.

The politically relevant history is one that has shaped popular political consciousness about the nation. Parallels with this pseudo-historicism as a basis for present claims for the settlement of past and present grievances, real as well as imagined, can be readily found in the rise of African studies and Black studies in higher education within the USA. Real and pseudo historians among American African-Americans are playing a role analogous to that of Croatian historians (Denitch, 1994). That is, attempting to construct or reconstruct, as an act of mytho-poetic imagination, a repressed national identity lost in the mists of time.

Western European nations are artificial constructs composed of very diverse heritage, consciously turned into “nations” relatively recently (Anderson, 1993). This historical origin of national groups does not make their ethnic nationalism any less intensely



and passionately believed creed and identity. Sometimes these identities are based on completely mythified creation stories. Creating national identity from the ashes of historical accuracy has been at times a conscious project.

There have always been the so called “historical” claims of the Croatian nationalists to frontiers from the historical time (real or imagined), sometimes far in the past, of the period of their greatest expansion. For most Croatian nationalists (Denitch, 1996), ancient history and pseudo history matter a great deal. They are the basis for contemporary frontier claims, for present day sympathies and antipathies towards neighbouring peoples. They are the basis for contemporary grievances. It is irrelevant how much of this history is accurate. In point of fact, “since documentation on the middle ages in Eastern Europe, the Balkans and Russia is very scarce, real history and historical controversies are truly for pedants” (Anderson, 1993). The romanticized pseudo-history and historical novels and poems have created a history that is politically relevant in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, I find the fact that it is for “that history” that people are still being killed today exceedingly ironic.

In 1960’s Croatia it was fashionable, among radical intellectuals to back “submerged” nationalisms, that is those nationalisms that no longer had the support of the majority of the people living within Croatia but were nevertheless passionately advocated by romantic nationalist minorities (these were usually made up of the remnants of the Ustashe fascists from the Second World War). These nationalist minorities very often leaned heavily on local poets, linguists and most importantly historians, who needed a national community to have any prominence. These members of the national intelligentsia needed a national, a linguistic/historical national, framework within which they could flourish, so since the former Yugoslav political establishment left no room for an individual nationalist heritage within Croatia, so they had to fabricate one (Hobsbawn, 1990). Many Croatian intellectuals that were “disappointed” in the revolutionary potential of the industrial working class within Yugoslavia backed movements that inspired a renewed and very often newly imagined nationalism (Hobsbawn, 1990) in order to weaken the “Yugoslav” state.

Croatia now employs the politics of intellectually and morally lazy people. Almost everything is explained by endless arcane conspiracies against our very own, victimized ethnic nation. This makes the Croats feel that their nation/heritage is



terribly important and world significant, in turn this “paranoia” fuelled by the intelligentsia has made post war Croatia extremely xenophobic.

An interesting illustration of how the past can incur multiple interpretations of the same narrative by the Croatian authorities and its effects on the individual subjects sense of ethnic identity has been graphically portrayed by Chris Hedges (1997). According to Hedges (1997), SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina -- On June 28, 1914, Gavrilo Princip shot and killed Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria in a Sarajevo street, an act that set off World War I. So what does that make him in Bosnia?

*"A hero and a poet," says a textbook handed to high school students in the Serb-controlled region of this divided country (Hedges, 1997).*

*An "assassin trained and instructed by the Serbs to commit this act of terrorism," says a text written for Croatian students (Hedges, 1997).*

*"A nationalist whose assassination sparked anti-Serbian rioting that was only stopped by the police from all three ethnic groups," reads the Muslim version of the event (Hedges, 1997).*

In Yugoslavia under Tito's communism, all students were exposed to the same set of history books, and in them Princip was unquestionably a hero. History, confusing enough these days in Croatia, is becoming even more unwieldy as students are ideologically manipulated and taught sanitized versions of history (Korac, 1996), art and language (Nadj, 1996).

Many students, especially those Serbs, Croats and Muslims who live in a fragmented post war existence, seem bewildered by the efforts of the government to define and educate pupils of their national heritage by ethnic background.

There are a plethora of different interpretations of every momentous event in post war Yugoslav history in the textbooks, often accompanied by elaborate conspiracy theories about the dark role of opposing ethnic groups. The Muslim books, for example, portray the Ottoman Empire's rule over Bosnia, which lasted 500 years, as a

golden age of culture and enlightenment; the Serbs and Croats condemn it as an age of "brutal occupation." The formation of the Yugoslav kingdom after World War I is recorded in the Serbian texts as a moment of "liberation" and in the Croatian texts as "a plot by the Serbs to create Greater Serbia," which reduced Croatia "to the status of a colony." The Muslim texts say Bosnian Muslims were "pressured against their will" by Serbian and Croatian leaders to join the Yugoslav union. The Muslim high school history text on the period between the world wars has chapter headings like "Evictions and Violence Directed Against the Muslims in Sandzak," a region in southern Serbia, and "The Abolition of the Autonomy of the Islamic Community in Bosnia" (Hedges, 1997). The Croatian history text, like the Serbian text, never even treats Bosnia as a distinct region, and its headings for the same period tell a different story: "The Loss of Croatian Territory"; "The Croatian People Resist the Dictatorship." The Serbian text describes the kingdom, which ended with the German occupation of Yugoslavia in 1941, as "an open, tolerant democracy." It explains to students that Croatian nationalists, backed by the Vatican, "adopted as their goal the destruction of Yugoslavia"; Muslims of the time are portrayed as trying "to divide Yugoslavia." The Croatian history text acknowledges the slaughter of Serbs, Jews and Gypsies in World War II by the quisling regime that the Nazis set up in Zagreb. But it also devotes pages to the attacks carried out by royalist Serbian irregulars who were known as Chetniks. The Muslim text, in a glaring omission, fails to detail the brutal role of the Muslim Hangar Division, which was organized by Muslim religious leaders in Sarajevo and fought alongside the Axis forces in Bosnia. The Serbian books, meanwhile, go into great detail about the war crimes committed against the Serbian people by the Muslim and Croatian "fascists," while skipping over the atrocities committed by the Chetniks and their open collaboration with the German and Italian occupiers.

The texts have at least one thing in common: a distaste for Tito, the communist leader who ruled the country from 1945 to 1980 and was a staunch opponent of the nationalist movements that now hold power (Ulam, 1952). The Croatian history text says he "lived the easy life and imprisoned all his political opponents." Serbian students are taught that he was "the prison warder of the Serbian people." The Muslims condemn him for his atheism and for thwarting the establishment of a



Bosnian state. What the books might also say is that Tito was as guilty as the ethnic leaderships of propagandizing education. In his day, school texts glorified the ruling Communists, left out large chunks of history that did not fit with their ideology and fostered a huge personality cult that saw schoolchildren tested on minute and often mythical events of Tito's life. Indeed, many experts believe that the Communists helped set the stage for today's ethnic rage by failing completely to grapple within the educational system with the deep ethnic conflicts that figure in Yugoslav history. Instead, they denied that such problems existed – an approach as divisive as the new effort to nurture students solely on the three groups' simultaneous, and contradictory recollections of grievances.

By the time today's history books reach recent history, the divergence and fragmentation of the individuals sense of identity will take on outrageous proportions; the subject no longer knows what version of the past is fact or fiction, and can no longer place him or her-self within a naturally developed socio-cultural chronological evolution known as an ethnos.

The following chapter addresses issues of Research Methodology and the researcher perspective. It summarises the theory and contradictions circumvent to Quantitative and Qualitative methods and discusses the contribution to knowledge, which is made by these methods. This is followed by a discussion of the major Qualitative research methodologies and methods for data collection and concludes by choosing the most appropriate methodology for this specific research.

## **Chapter Four**

### **Defining a methodological framework**



## **Chapter Four**

### **The Research Methodology**

The following chapter aims to address the issue of “Research methodology” by reference to a range of theories, all of which were compared and contrasted within the context of the research. The chapter starts with a discussion of the nature and main characteristics of qualitative research. There is then a discussion on the qualitative quantitative debate, which is followed by a debate on the main qualitative research methodologies from which one was selected as the methodology for this thesis. This is followed by a discussion on methods of data collection and interpretation, data analysis, interpretation of the findings and concludes with an analysis on why ethnography was selected as most suitable for this thesis.

#### **The qualitative – quantitative debate: underlying philosophies**

Social reality can be approached in various ways. Researchers will always have to choose between a wide variety of research methods and while they often make their choice on practical grounds, they also need to understand the philosophical ideas on which it is based. The approach depends on the following (Holloway & Wheeler, 1996),

- The nature and type of the research problem
- The epistemological stance of the researcher
- The skills and training of the researcher
- The resources available for the research project

The initial choice of method is not easy. Approaches to social enquiry consist not only of the procedures of sampling, data collection and analysis but they are based on particular ideas about the world and nature of knowledge which sometimes reflect competing and conflicting views about social reality. Some of these interpretations of the social world are concerned with the very nature of existence (ontology). From this basic assumption about knowledge arises Epistemology which is the theory of

knowledge. Minichiello et al (1990) state “ Epistemological issues are concerned with knowing or deciding what sort of statements we will accept to justify what we believe to exist”. Methodology refers to the principles and ideas on which researchers base their procedures and strategies.

In the following section the author will discuss the nature of the two research approaches.

### Epistemological concerns

Two main sets of assumption underlie social research: the positivist and the interpretivist paradigms (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Bryman, 1988). Conflict and tension between different schools of social science have existed for a long time in the positivist approach, the focus was on the methods of natural science which become a model for early social sciences such as psychology and later sociology. Interpretivists pointed out the human beings differ from the natural world and the distinction between humans and matter should be mirrored in the method of investigation.

### Positivism: the natural science model

In the past the rational and most favoured method of social and behavioural research used was quantitative. Quantitative research is based on the positivist and early natural science paradigm which has acted as a major influence upon the social sciences throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century.

Positivism as claimed by Thompson (1995) is an approach to science which is based on a belief in universal laws (which are non existent when working with the human animal) and insistence on objectivity and neutrality. Positivists follow the natural science approach in which theories and hypothesis are tested. The methods of natural, in particular physical, science stem from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Comte (1798 – 1857), the French philosopher, suggested that the emerging social sciences must proceed in the same way as natural science by adopting the natural



science method of observation and experimentation as opposed to speculation or theological explanations of phenomena.

One of the rules in this kind of research is the quest for objectivity and distance so that personal biases can be avoided. Investigators searched for patterns and regularities and believed that universal laws and rules or law like generalities exist for all human action. They believed that generalisations should be applicable to all situation and cases (Hitchcock & Hughes, 1989) thus forming certain assumptions about the human animal. Behaviour could be predicted and calculated, so they believed, on the basis of these laws. Even today it is a fact that many researchers think that numerical measurement, statistical analysis and the search for cause and affect lie at the heart of all research. They feel that detachment and objectivity are possible, and numerical measurements of social phenomena should naturally result in the development of objective knowledge. In this approach, the researchers control the theoretical framework, sampling frames and the structure of the research.

Duffy (1985), declares that this type of research seeks causal relationships or links between events. Popper (1959) claimed that falsifiability is the main criterion of science. The researcher formulates a hypothesis, an expected outcome and then proceeds to test it. Experiments are designed or surveys set up to refute or falsify this hypothesis. Findings from observation and standard interviews help to confirm or reject the hypothesis, but any statement must always be falsifiable. If it is disproved the whole process starts from the beginning again. Particular cases have to fit the hypothesis. If fit exists and the hypothesis is not falsified then the study is finished until the moment a deviant case occurs. The problem is that knowledge is always provisional. The main aim of this research is to test theory, this means that the approach develops from theory and the concepts are established before the research begins. The model of science adopted is hypothetico-deductive. The danger of this approach is that researchers treat perceptions of the social world as objective and absolute and neglect everyday subjective interpretations and the context of the research.

Social scientists need to be reminded however that natural scientists for instance biologists and physicists are not agreed on exactly on what science is and adopt a variety of different scientific methods. The popular and traditional idea of natural

science is questioned by Chalmers (1982). The traditionalists believed that scientific knowledge can be proven, is discovered by rigorous methods of observation and experiments, and derived through the senses. The search for objectivity may be futile for scientists, they may attempt to reach it but their own biases, experiences and opinions will always intrude to a certain extent. Science, whether it is natural or social will never be “value free”.

In the 1960's the traditional view of science was attacked and criticised for its aims and methods, and its emphasis on social reality as being “out there” separate from the individual. At this time a paradigm of shift (Kuhn, 1970) appears to have occurred. Natural scientists criticised the mechanical natural science view of the world and some sociologists began to see it as socially constructed and defined. The later resurrected the interpretive perspective which initially stemmed from the writings of Mead and others in the early twentieth century. This is related to some of the ideas of Weber (1864-1920).

#### The interpretive paradigm

The interpretive model has its roots in philosophy and the human sciences, particularly in history and anthropology. This approach centres around the creation of meanings by human beings, and their subjective reality. They should be approached by scientists within the whole of their life context and not as individual entities that exist within a vacuum. Leininger (1985) claims that the knowledge of people consists of more than just what can be seen, sensed and measured. Social scientists that use this model believe that understanding human experiences is as important as the idea of the positivist paradigm which focuses of explanation, prediction and control. This interpretive model has a long history (from nineteenth century historians to Weberian sociology) but it has gained more acceptance within the last few decades.

The interpretivist paradigm can be linked to Weber's Verstehen approach. Philosophers such as Dilthey (1833-1911) considered that the social sciences should not ape the natural sciences.

Weber too, was well aware of the two paradigms which existed in the nineteenth century. The concept of Verstehen (understanding something in it's context) has



elements of empathy, not in the psychological sense as intuitive and non-conscious feeling, but as reflexive reconstruction and interpretation of the action of others. Weber believed that social scientists should be concerned with the interpretive understanding of human beings. He claimed that meaning can be found in the intentions and goals of the individual.

Weber argued that understanding in the social sciences is inherently different from explanation in the natural sciences, and he differentiates between the nomothetic, rule-governed methods of the latter and idiographic methods which are not linked to the general laws of nature but to the actions of human beings. Weber believed that numerically measured probability is quantitative only, and he wanted to stress that social science concerns itself with the qualitative. We should treat the people we study, he advised, “as if they were human beings” and attempt to gain access to their experiences and perceptions by listening to them and observing them.

Contemporary interpretivists claim the experiences of people are essentially context-bound, that is they cannot be free from time and location or the mind of the human actor. Researchers need to understand the socially constructed nature of the world and realise that values and interests become part of the research process. Objectivity and neutrality are impossible to achieve; in fact, the values of researchers and participants can become an integral part of the research (Smith, 1983). Researchers are not divorced from the phenomenon under study. This means reflexivity on their part; they must take into account their own position in the setting as they are the main research tool.

Language itself is context bound and depends on the researchers and the informant's values and social location. Replication or the duplication of a piece of research is impossible because the research relationship, history and location of participants differ in each study. It is sometimes suggested that qualitative research is not scientific, though most qualitative researchers claim that it is so (Hitchcock & Hughes, 1989; Minichiello et al, 1990). Traditional nineteenth century methods of physical science are not the only way to execute science.

The qualitative methodology is not “absolutely” and unquestionably precise, but on the other hand neither is the quantitative. Investigators in qualitative enquiry do begin their research by utilising the empirical data but turn to the human participants for

guidance, direction and control throughout the research. Rigour and order are of course important particularly when analysing qualitative data. The social world, just as the universe we live in is not orderly or systematic, therefore it is all the more important that the researcher proceeds in a well structured and systematic way.

### Conflicting or complementary perspectives

Some social scientists believe that qualitative and quantitative approaches are merely different ways of research to be used pragmatically, dependent on the research question, while others explore the epistemological basis of the two methodologies, decide that they are incompatible or mutually exclusive (this is debated in Hammersley, 1992), and use one or the other depending on their own epistemological stance. Bryman (1988) and Silverman (1993) address this by stating that neither school is superior to the other, and that an emphasis on the polarities does not result in useful debates. They do, however stress that the approach depends on the intentions and goals of the researcher.

Many sociologists and psychologists still operate under the positivist tradition. Guba & Lincoln (1981) argue that a paradigm shift (in line with the ideas of Kuhn, 1970) occurred when earlier methods of natural science were questioned and new ways adopted: certain theoretical and philosophical presuppositions are replaced by another set of assumptions taking precedence over the model from the past. Some like Atkinson (1995), do not believe that the qualitative methodologies represent a shift towards a new paradigm. However, I the author does suggest that it is a coherent way of researching human thought, perception and behaviour (not new but more systematic and scientific than earlier ethnography or journalistic narrative).

Corner (1991) warns the researcher not to be simplistic about the assumptions of social science and overemphasise the differences between the methods which are based on these different philosophies. Nevertheless it must be remembered that positivist and interpretive methods of social science have their roots in competing and conflicting ideas. While positivism is based on the belief that reality has existence outside and independent of individuals, interpretivists claim that reality is socially constructed and not independent of the observer (Blaikie, 1993).



## Triangulation

Triangulation is the use of numerous methods (Data sources (such as locations of research), researchers or theories) which are used in order to study one phenomenon. The concept of triangulation has its origins in ancient Greek mathematics. Denzin (1989) differentiates between four main types of triangulation,

- 1) Triangulation of data
- 2) Triangulation of investigators
- 3) Triangulation of theories
- 4) Triangulation of methodologies

Denzin states that the triangulation of methodologies is most often used.

## Mixing methods

Sometimes researchers employ two methodologies which have their roots in distinctly different views of the world, not for validating the results of one through the other, but for different reasons, for instance to gain a variety of information, to illuminate a particular problem from various angles or to study different aspect of a phenomenon. De Poy & Gitlin (1993) describe the three basic techniques for mixing methods: the nested, the sequential and the parallel strategies.

- 1) Using the nested strategy, researchers choose a main framework and methodology to develop their research and then add a technique from another methodology.
- 2) Sequential strategies can also be utilised since they are the most common approach to mixing methods. Researchers for example might start working on a issue by using a qualitative methodology such as unstructured interviews. On the basis of these interviews they can develop a hypothesis and then proceed to construct a questionnaire in order to carry out a large survey. At times though the

opposite can happen and a research project can start out by using a quantitative method and end up using a qualitative approach.

- 3) The parallel approach makes use of a quantitative method and a qualitative method at the same time while valuing both equally so that the topic can be illuminated from both sides.

### The debate about triangulation

Social scientists are not in accord about the use of triangulation and the mixing of methods. Hamersley (1992) denies the existence of the two methodological models and claims that distinctions are dangerous. Although fundamental differences may exist in these approaches, researchers should also consider the implications of the methods for practice and operational use, where a clear distinction is not always helpful. Miles and Huberman (1994) state that one of the differences lies in the description in the words of qualitative research and numbers in quantitative research, but there are, of course, differences in sampling, analysis and outcomes. Qualitative and quantitative methods are often used together in one single study for practical purposes, and some social scientists claim that a research study can be strengthened and improved through the usage of both methods (Salomon, 1991).

Those with purist views suggest that the two main research methodologies have no place in one piece of research. Indeed, Leninger (1992) – who recognises that research findings from different philosophical directions can compliment each other - warns researchers against mixing the two methodologies because they differ in philosophy, traits and aims. She does suggest that researchers mix methods within a paradigm. Triangulation across methods which Leininger describes as multiangulation, violates the integrity of both methodologies in her view. Clarke (1995) advises against using multiple methodologies for more practical reasons. He claims that this produces a diffused picture because of the lack of consistency and adequacy in analysis.

The practical angle should be considered: in a small undergraduate project a single method approach is less time consuming and gives an opportunity for in depth use of the method. Cresswell (1994) recommends that studies be based on a single paradigm, not only because of the eliminations of time and size of the research, but also because



each methodology has its roots in a particular world view. Qualitative methods are appropriate for researching some situations and problems, quantitative methods for others. Researchers must choose the best method or methods which best suit their particular research question or topic. Depending on a particular project, triangulation between methods may be appropriate.

Evaluators of qualitative and quantitative methods must remember to judge each piece of work on its own terms within the specific approach taken. This becomes particularly important advise for qualitative research, which is often evaluated by the use of criteria appropriate for quantitative methods. Hutchinson and Webb (1991) note that “qualitative research is not a substitute for quantitative enquiry. The two modes of research are not in competition”. Each has to be consistent within itself and fit the research or problem. While quantitative researchers stress validity, ensuring that instruments are appropriate and measure what they are supposed to measure, qualitative research is seen and believed to have the greater explanatory power, this truly, is its main strength.

### **The nature of Qualitative Research**

There has been an increasing interest in qualitative research approaches over the last few decades. These approaches were initially based on methods used in anthropological research and can be traced back to the Chicago School of Sociology. Their roots lie embedded in a journalistic and social work approach (Fielding, 1993). Journalistic methods though have long been abandoned by qualitative researchers due to their lack of rigour.

Sociologists and anthropologists maintain that the qualitative researchers study people in their natural settings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, Fielding, 1993). They look at individuals and groups in their natural settings, in order to discover the complex natural world of cultures and languages by living with the “natives” and learning through observation and verbal communication. The Chicago School of the 1920’s and the 1930’s (a group of sociologists of whom the most famous was Robert Park) transferred anthropological methods to western culture and society. The Chicagoans

reported from “the field” – the street corners, slums and drinking places of the city – feeling impelled to take part in the life of the informants to understand their reality. Data was collected through participant observation (a term coined by Liendman, 1924, which means that the researcher participated in the culture under study) and informal interviews that produced lively and interesting stories from those who were observed (Holloway & Wheeler, 1996).

In order for the research to be factual the Chicago sociologists had come to the realisation that they needed to collect empirical data, “to get their hands dirty”. Today’s sociologists and psychologists too, know that the collection of data from different times and places assists in increasing understanding of our own society and social behavioural patterns.

Qualitative research is particularly useful when very little is known about the area of study and the particular research question/problem, setting or situation, because the research can reveal processes that go far beyond surface appearances. It provides fresh and new perspectives on known areas and ideas (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

### **The main characteristics of Qualitative research**

Different types of qualitative research approaches have some characteristics and procedures in common, while some differences in data collection and analysis exist. The following elements are common to most methods of qualitative research,

- 1) Qualitative research takes the “emic” perspective or the so called insiders point of view.
- 2) Researchers immerse and involve themselves in the setting and the culture under study.
- 3) The theoretical framework of qualitative research is not predetermined by the data but derives from it.
- 4) The method includes “thick description”.
- 5) The relationship between the researcher and the researched is close and is based on a position of equality as human beings.



6) Data collection and analysis interact.

(Holloway & Wheeler, 1996)

### The “emic” perspective

Qualitative researchers explore the ideas and perceptions of the participants, the insider’s view. This is called the emic perspective by anthropologists and linguists (Harris, 1976). It means that researchers attempt to study the experiences, feelings and perceptions of the people they study rather than imposing a framework of their own which might distort the viewpoint of the participants. They uncover the meanings people give to their experiences and the way in which they interpret them. Qualitative research is based on the premise that individuals are best placed to describe situations and feelings in their own words. It is critical to remember though that these meanings are very rarely clear or unambiguous (Addison, 1992), and they are not fixed; the social world is not frozen at a particular point in time or in a particular situation but dynamic and changing.

By observing people and listening to their accounts, researchers attempt to understand and rationalize the process by which informants attempt to make sense of their own behaviour and the rules which govern their practices. This means taking into account their intentions because they help researchers gain access to their social reality. Of course, the reports individuals give are their own personal explanations, which may not always be the explanation of an event or action, but as the researcher wishes to uncover the individuals own definition of reality, these reports are valid data, although Dey (1993) warns us that we can not always rely on accounts or on our own interpretations of them, we can often take our informants words and actions as reflections of underlying meanings.

The qualitative approach requires empathetic understanding, that is, the investigators must attempt to examine the situations, events and actions from the participants point of view and not impose their own perspective. This does not mean that the researchers do not theorise from observed behaviour or participants words – they often do. The researchers and “outsiders” view is the etic perspective (Harris 1976). They interpret the ideas of the participants and give an account of the event and actions. There is

“elaboration and systematisation of the significance of an identified phenomenon” (Banister et al, 1994:3). Meanings are not reduced to subjective accounts. The participants are part of the group or subculture in which they live, and therefore their words, actions and intentions can only be understood in context.

It is critical that the relationship between researcher and informant be one of trust; this close bond and the researchers knowledge of the informants situation makes deceit unlikely but not entirely impossible.

### Immersion in the setting

Most qualitative research actively seeks to gain knowledge about a distinct social group or subculture living in a certain environment. It does not strictly consist of just the physical environment but also of particular ideologies, beliefs, values and ways of thinking that make up the setting. Researchers must display a vast degree of sensitivity in order to objectively interpret what they hear and observe.

Immersion within the setting might constitute meetings with or about participants, becoming familiar with other similar situations, reading documents or observing interaction in the setting long before initiating the research.

In order for the researcher to fully understand the participants interpretation of a particular event it will become necessary to become familiar with their world. To be capable of studying the world of the participant the researcher must never take this world for granted, but must constantly question his or her own assumptions and act as a stranger in the setting, it is shocking how much baggage we as researchers take with us when commencing a piece of work, an objective researcher must attempt to closely scrutinize his or her pre formed ideas when analysing the data.

### The primacy of the data

Within qualitative research the research data has priority, whereas in other types of research, hypothesis are formed, sampling frames are imposed and theories are set up in order for them to be tested. Although qualitative approaches are rooted in a specific



theoretical background, for instance philosophy, or symbolic interactionism, the theoretical framework of the research project is not predetermined but based on the emerging data. Researchers do not impose assumptions but instead offer an analytic account of reality. This means that the researcher must maintain an open mind, although no research project is completely objective since the researcher always has some idea about the research. Fetterman (1989) claims that the researcher “enters the field with an open mind, not an empty head”.

The data are words and actions of the participants gained through conversations and observations as well as documents and diaries.

While the aim of much qualitative research is the generation of theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) many researchers do not achieve this, particularly if they are novices. New ideas can emerge from the data; propositions or typologies are developed, but the researchers cannot state that they have developed theory unless this claim is substantiated. They usually do provide, however, the interpretation of participants' experiences and gain insights into their world, describing “the characteristics and structure of the phenomenon” (Tesch, 1991) they examined. Qualitative research is not static but developmental and dynamic in character.

### Thick description

Immersion in the setting will help the researcher use thick description (Geertz, 1973). It involves detailed portrayals of the participants' experiences, going beyond a report of surface phenomena to their interpretations, uncovering feelings in a situation and the meanings of their actions. Thick descriptions develop from the data and the context. The task involves description of the location and the people within it, giving visual pictures of setting, events and situations as well as verbatim narratives of individual's accounts of their perceptions and ideas in context. The description of the situation or discussion should be thorough; this means that everything is described in vivid detail. Indeed Denzin (1989) states that thick description is a deep, dense, detailed account of problematic experiences ... it presents detail, context, emotion and the webs of social relationship that join persons to one another. Thick description contains theoretical ideas about the importance of conduct and events, it is not merely

factual but theoretical and analytic description. Strauss & Corbin (1994) go further by explaining that the emphasis in one of the approaches, grounded theory, is on conceptualisation rather than description.

Denzin (1989) contrasts thick description with thin description, which is superficial and lacks detail. Thick description helps the reader of a research study to develop an active role in the research because knowledge is shared by researcher and reader. Through clear description of the culture or subculture, the context and the process of the research, the reader can follow the pathway of the researcher and the two share the construction of reality coming to similar conclusions in the analysis of research (Erlandson, 1993). This shows readers of the story what they themselves would experience if they were in the same situation as the participants, and therefore thick description generates empathetic and experiential understanding.

Qualitative approaches are connected with observing, questioning and listening. This generates description of a culture by the researchers who immerse themselves in the real world of the participants (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). It helps to focus on process, on the intersection of people and the way they construct or change rules and situations. Qualitative enquiry can trace progress and development over time as perceived by the participants.

### The Research relationship

Within qualitative research the researcher and the informant share common overall aims (Schutz, 1994). In order to reach these common aims the researcher needs possess the following characteristics (Holloway & Wheeler, 1996),

- Good listeners
- Non judgmental
- Friendly
- Open and honest
- Flexible



The reflective researcher becomes a reflective listener. This involves a non judgmental stance towards the thoughts and words of the participant. Swanson (1986) advises that researchers should reassure the participants that there is no right and wrong answer and no right or wrong way to feel about a situation. It is critical for the researcher to remember that rapport and empathy help in uncovering rich data. In fact the listener needs to become the learner in this situation, while the informant takes on the role of the teacher. Field and Morse (1985) remind us that it is important to show genuine interest in order to develop mutual trust. This means keeping eye contact and being friendly without forgetting the purpose of the research. Rapport does not automatically imply an intimate relationship or deep friendship (Spradley, 1979), but it does lead to negotiation and sharing of ideas. It makes the research more interesting for the participants because they feel able to ask questions.

Questions about the nature of the research project should be answered as honestly and openly as possible without creating bias in the study. The advice is to tell the truth without going into detail which informants might not understand or which may frighten them (Begdewic, 1992). It is interesting that research books and articles differ in their advice on the relationship of the researcher and informant. Some (Patton, 1990) suggest a certain distance between the two, while others such as Wilde (1992) feel that this could be a mistake because involvement and self disclosure on the part of the researcher facilitates disclosure and sharing of experiences from the participants. It is still important to remember the main goal of the meeting between researcher and informants and that is to gain knowledge.

### The interaction of data collection and analysis

Another important feature of qualitative research is the close connection between data collection and analysis. Without setting up a hypothesis prior to the study, the researcher collects the first data in the field and starts to analyse them at the same time. The researcher then develops tentative working propositions which are reformulated and modified in subsequent data collection. New concepts are developed throughout the process of data collection until the end of the research, and they are continually adapted. When asking questions of new informants or looking at new

situations, researchers take into account the ideas that had emerged previously. New data may challenge or modify these in due course. At each stage data collection and analysis interact.

### **Defining and choosing the Methodological Framework**

I have come to the realisation in the course my research that many, if not most, qualitative research papers commence with an all out critique if not attack on the positivist paradigm, an evaluation of methodologies and a justification for their chosen perspective and technique. It appears to be a necessary requirement for those engaged in qualitative research that they defend their choice of methodology by first providing a rationale for not using the logico deductive and objective approaches most commonly associated with the scientific cannons of positivism. The opposite though does not appear to be true. On examination of publications derived from a positivist, or more commonly, a quantitative perspective, scant, if any attention is paid to justifying the use of such a framework in the light of other possible qualitative methodologies (Goulding, 1997).

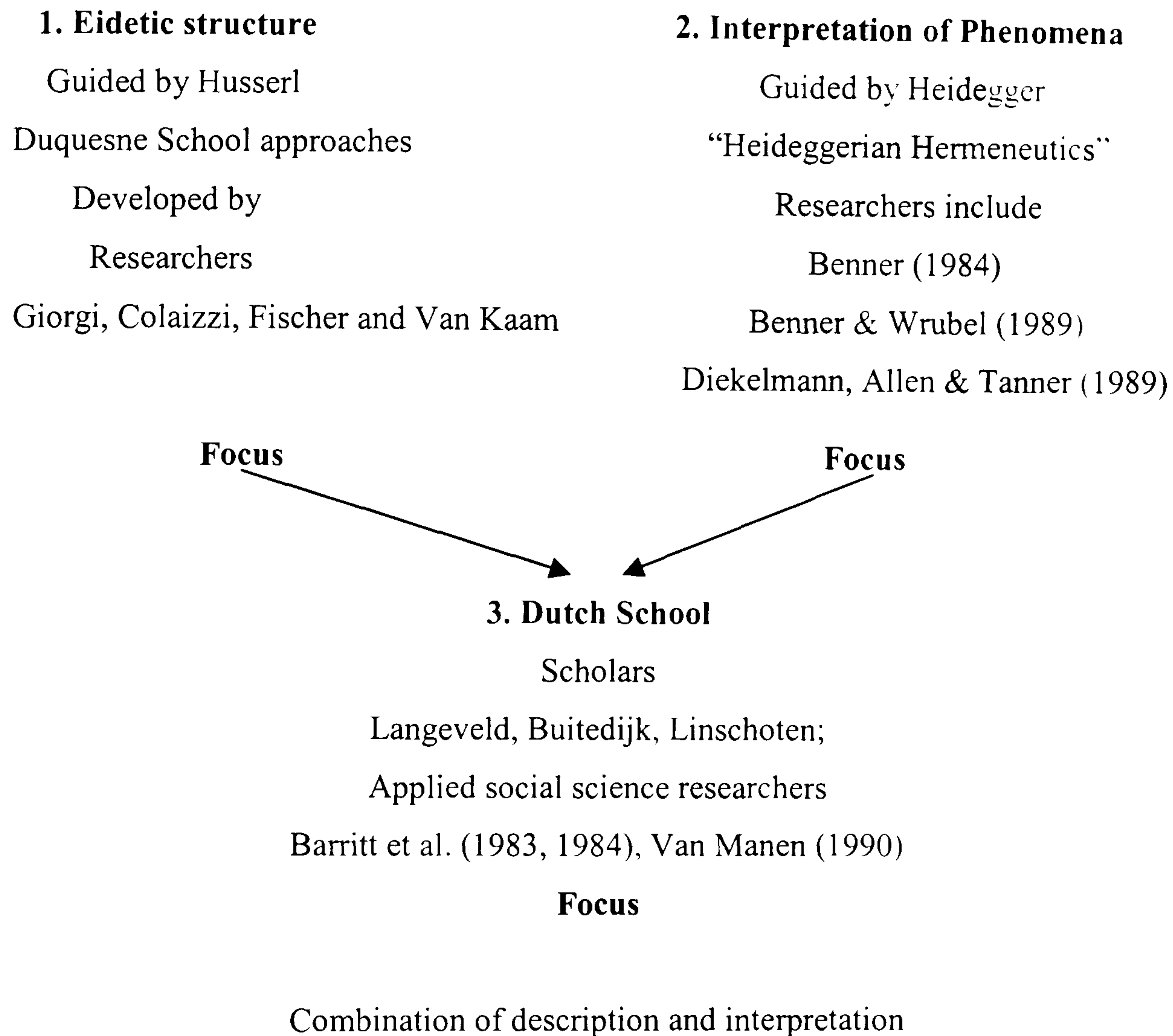
The aim of this chapter is not to convince the reader that positivism is bad or lacking and that qualitative research is good and objective, I personally do not believe this to be the case. Both approaches possess their own merits and limitations and should thus be assessed and utilised according to the research question. My objective is to try and provide a rationale, based on evaluation of a number of methodologies for why the method chosen was considered to be the most appropriate for answering my research question. Subsequently my critique of positivism is not a condemnation of the philosophy and general method, it is based on its rejection in this particular case. Conversely, my review of the qualitative approaches in this context is not exhaustive, I believe that the detailing of each and every method considered would not enhance this chapter but on the contrary it would lead to fragmentation and loss of focus. The aim of this chapter is not to act as a condensed text book on qualitative research methodologies, although a wide range of possible approaches were reviewed, rather it attempts to concentrate on those methods which were “short listed” and provide an



explanation of their philosophies, why they were not used, and finally why Critical Ethnography was selected. There is one final reason behind the evaluation of the methods featured here, particularly the various forms of ethnography, and that is that these similar approaches to ethnography can be confused and presented as another form of the method (Holloway & Wheeler, 1996). Therefore clear distinctions need to be made before Ethnography can be utilised successfully.

### **Phenomenology**

The first thing to say about phenomenology is that it is not just a set of techniques for gathering analysing and interpreting data, it is as much a philosophy whose intellectual foundations need to be understood if the method is to be implemented in its “true” form (Goulding 1997). Phenomenology derives from the Greek word PHENOMENON, which means “to show itself”, to put into light or manifest something that can become visible in itself (Heidegger, 1962) “Phenomenology attempts to disclose the essential meaning of human endeavours” (Bishop & Scudder, 1991). Van Manen (1990) argues that phenomenological research is primarily about wanting to know the world in which we live. As such the world’s secrets as he puts it, and intimacies that form experience of the world, are questioned and examined.



*Above: Schematic representation of Schools of Phenomenology For Applied Research (Holloway & Wheeler, 1996).*

Van Manen argues that wanting to do this research becomes a “caring act” (Van Manen, 1990) and outlines some important points, which identify phenomenological research. Oiler Boyd (1993) summarises these:

- 1) Phenomenological research is the study of lived experience.
- 2) Phenomenological research is the explication of phenomena as they present themselves to consciousness.
- 3) Phenomenological research is the study of essences.



- 4) Phenomenological research is the description of the experiential meanings we live as we live them.
- 5) Phenomenological research is the human scientific study of phenomena.
- 6) Phenomenological research is the attentive practice of thoughtfulness. Oiler Boyd (1993) describes this : “The impetus, for doing research is the reaeachers everyday practical concerns in her or his orientation as nurse for example”.
- 7) Phenomenological research is a search for what it means to be human.
- 8) Phenomenological research is a poetising activity. Oiler Boyd (1993) summarises this: “phenomenological description is then characterized by inspirational insight won through reflective writing. Research and writing are thus closely related”.

To begin the process of phenomenological enquiry, the researcher obviously needs an area of interest, puzzlement or concern, or a gap in general or specific knowledge about a phenomenon.

Stuebert & Carpenter (1995) advise that the researcher should ask several questions about the intended topic. For example: is there some need for clarity concerning a phenomenon? Has there been anything published in relation to this, or is there need for further enquiry? If there is, the researcher should question whether enquiry concerning the lived experience is the most appropriate approach to collecting data. As the accounts of those experiencing the phenomenon are the primary data, the researcher needs to consider that this will yield both rich and descriptive data. Steubert & Carpenter advise that researchers examine their own style preference and ability to engage with this approach to research. Further considerations for the research process concern completion and presentation of the study to relevant audiences.

Appropriate areas for this type of research include:

*“..... Those that are central to the life experience of human beings. Examples include feeling of happiness or fear, being there, being committed, being a chair-person or head nurse, or the meaning of stress for nursing students in the clinical*

*setting. Health related topics suitable for phenomenological investigation might include the meaning of pain, quality of life with a particular chronic illness or loss of a body part.”*

*Streuber & Carpenter, 1995*

In all research approaches the researcher has a responsibility the type of theoretical framework (e.g. symbolic interactionism, phenomenology or any other) and specify and outline the approach to data analysis (e.g. grounded theory for the former, or Colliazi's or other writers approaches in the latter). Baker et al. (1992) argue that there is a need to clearly define the methodology to avoid “method slurring”.

In data analysis for phenomenological enquiry, the researcher aims to uncover and produce a description of the lived experience. The procedural steps to achieve this aim vary with the approach taken by the researcher in term of the three main types of phenomenology outlined in the above schematic diagram. Ray (1994) points out that data analysis in eidetic or descriptive phenomenology requires the researcher to make full usage of bracketing (that is to suspend their baggage or past experience, knowledge or any prediction of the phenomena being studied). Intuition and reflection are important in the data analysis process to help open up “the meaning of experience both as discourse and as text” Ray (1994).

Approaches to data analysis which follow the requirements of bracketing, intuition and reflection have been developed by a plethora of researchers, one of these, Coliazzi (1978), outlined a seven stage process of analysis. Although there has been criticism towards pioneering work such as this (Hycner, 1985), I have personally found this process of analysis to be both logical and credible. Yet I would take the view of Hycner (1985) that “there is an appropriate reluctance on the part of phenomenologists to focus too much on specific steps in research methods for fear that they will become verified as they have in the natural sciences”.

There are, however several interpretations of the data analysis process depending on the school of phenomenology chosen, for example Streubert & Carpenter (1995) outline the different procedural steps from six authors: Vaan Kaam (1959), Paterson



& Zderad (1976), Colaizzi (1978), Van Manen (1984), Giorgi (1985) and Streubert (1991).

The 27 phenomenological research studies reviewed by Beck (1994) appeared to be guided by the Dequesne school and used the approaches from one of the following authors: Colaizzi (1978), Giorgi (1985) or Van Kaam (1966). In consequence Beck outlines the different procedural steps for data analysis developed by them. Colaizzi advocates seven steps, Giorgi four and Van Kaam six.

In selecting a school for phenomenology the researcher will be guided by the approach to the most appropriate procedural steps in data analysis. As an example I shall outline and discuss those developed by Colaizzi (1978).

Colaizzi (1978) argues the case for descriptive research and provides a method for data analysis, for instance from transcribed tapes of interviews with participants. The seven stage process of analysis occurs as follows,

- 1) The first task of the researcher is to read the participants narratives, to acquire a feeling for their ideas in order to fully understand them.
- 2) The next step involves the researcher in extracting words and sentences relating to the phenomenon under study, Colaizzi calls this process “extracting significant statements”.
- 3) The researcher then attempts to formulate meanings for each of the significant statements.
- 4) The researcher repeats this process for each description from the participant and arranges these formulated means into a cluster of themes.
  - a) The researcher returns to the original descriptions to validate the themes.
  - b) At this stage there are many contradictions among or between the groups of themes. The researcher is advised by Colaizzi to resist the temptation to ignore data or themes which do not fit.
- 5) Following this step, the researcher is able to integrate all the resulting ideas into an exhaustive description of the phenomenon under study.

- 6) The researcher then reduces the exhaustive description of the phenomenon to an essential structure. Colaizzi describes this as an unequivocal statement of identification of the fundamental structure of the phenomenon.
- 7) In the final stage the researcher returns to the participants in the research for a further interview to elicit their views on the findings and to validate them.

#### Why did I not utilise Phenomenology in my research?

- 1) Phenomenology as a research methodology concentrates wholly upon a phenomenon and thus does not aid in the study a mass culture, although it would be a viable option in the study of a specific phenomena within the human mind.
- 2) Ethnography concentrates on culture and power / control issues which are more suited to my study.
- 3) Within phenomenology all data collected can be from informants only whilst ethnography utilises data from a wide spectrum of sources making the study of more complete, whole.
- 4) Phenomenological research (Holloway & Wheeler, 1996) is more appropriate for psychological (and clinical) purposes due to it being based on studying human emotion (fear, happiness, commitment, stress).

#### **Grounded theory**

Grounded Theory (GT) was first used in the 1960s by Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss, two sociologists who worked together on research about health professionals interaction with dying patients. This research generated two books (Glaser & Strauss, 1965, 1968) which have become the central pillars for grounded theory. Four other books on grounded theory emerged: Field Research: Strategies for Natural Sociology (Schtazman & Strauss, 1973), Theoretical Sensitivity (Glaser, 1978), Qualitative



Analysis for Social Scientists (Strauss, 1987) and Basics of Qualitative Research (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

The last book in which Strauss is co-author with a nurse researcher (Juliet Corbin) describes a research approach which has been clarified over time and is not as confusing as the original texts, but has been criticized for being too structured and thus upholding a completely contradictory stance from the teachings of the 1965 text. This last book has become particularly fashionable in the preceding decade and is quite often used by researchers who consider the original text to be too vague and unclear.

The theoretical framework for grounded theory is derived from the insights of symbolic interactionism, focusing on the process of interaction between people exploring human behaviour and social roles. Symbolic interactionism explains how individuals attempt to fit their lines of action to those of others (Blumer, 1971), take account of each others acts, interpret them and re-organize their own behaviour.

Mead (1934), the main proponent of symbolic interactionism, sees the self as a social rather than a psychological phenomenon. Members of a society affect the development of a persons social self by their expectations and influence. Initially, individuals model their roles on the important people in their lives, “significant others”; they learn to act according to others expectations, thereby shaping their behaviour. Eventually, the individual is able to play a number of social roles simultaneously and can organize the roles taken from the community, the “generalised other”. Mead compares this to a team game, where members of a team anticipate the behaviour of other players and can therefore play their own role. The observation of these interacting roles is a source of data in grounded theory.

The model of the person in symbolic interactionism is active and creative rather than passive. Individuals plan, project, create actions and revise them by interpreting each others behaviour, which they choose from a variety of social roles. People share the attitudes and responses of particular situations with members of their group. Hence members of a culture and community analyse the language, appearance and gestures of others and act in accordance with their interpretations (Holloway and Wheeler, (1996). On these perceptions, they base their justifications for conduct which can only

be understood in context. Grounded theory therefore stresses the importance of the context in which people function.

Symbolic interactionism focuses on actions and perceptions of individuals and their ideas and intentions. The Thomas theorem states “ If men (sic) define situations as real, they are real in their consequences, thereby claiming that individual definitions of reality shape perceptions and actions. Participant observation and interviewing trace this process of “definition of the situation” (Thomas, 1972).

Denzin (1989) links symbolic interactionism to naturalistic, qualitative research methods by stating that researchers must enter the world of interactive human beings in order to understand them. By doing this, they see the situation from the perspective of the participants rather than their own. This perspective can be uncovered by interviews and diaries. Qualitative methods suit the theoretical assumptions of symbolic interactionism. As human beings are seen as active and creative, they can be observed in the process of their work and their negotiations with others, particularly with significant others. The interpretation of participants in the situation should be heard. Researchers use grounded theory to investigate these interactions, behaviours and experiences as well as individuals perceptions and thoughts about them.

#### The main features of grounded theory

One of the main features of grounded theory is the generation of theory from the data (Holloway & Wheeler, 1996), although existing theories can be modified or extended through this method. It emphasises the development of ideas from the data like other qualitative methods but goes further than these. Grounded theory researchers start with an area of interest, collect the data and allow the relevant idea to develop, while quantitative research begins with preconceived ideas, theories and hypothesis which are then tested for conformation. Wiener & Wismans (1990) maintain that their concept of grounded theory is not always understood; theory in this approach means:

“identifying the relationship between and among concepts, and presenting a systematic view of the phenomenon being examined, in order to explain what is going on”



According to Strauss & Corbin (1990) a good grounded theory has four main criteria: fit, understanding, generality and control. It should be true to real life and it should be clearly understandable to the participants and professionals, who are linked to the area of study. Strauss & Corbin (1990) demand that it be applicable to a variety of similar settings and contexts.

Glaser and Strauss (1967) advise that rigid preconceived ideas prevent development of the research; imposing a framework that might block the awareness of major concepts which emerge from the data.

Stern (1980) makes a case for grounded theory in situations where little is known about a particular topic or problem area, or where a new and exciting outlook is needed in familiar settings.

The grounded theory style of research uses constant comparison. The researcher compares each section of the data with every other throughout the study for similarities and differences. Included in this process are the themes and categories identified in the literature. All the data are coded and categorised, and from this process major concepts and constructs are formed. The researcher takes up a search for major themes which link ideas, to find a “story line” from the study.

The approach is both inductive and deductive. Strauss (1987) sees the process of induction, deduction and verification as essential in grounded theory. Grounded theory does not start with a hypothesis. After collecting the initial data, however, relationships are established and provisional hypothesis concerned. These are verified by checking them out against further data.

Strauss & Corbin (1990) acknowledge that grounded theory does have similarities with other qualitative methods in data sources and emphasis. Grounded theorists accept their role as interpreters of the data and do not stop at merely reporting them. The method does, however, differ in that researchers search for relationships between concepts, while other forms of qualitative research often generate major themes but do not always uncover patterns and links between categories or develop theories (Holloway & Wheeler, 1996).

### Analytic procedures in grounded theory

According to Glaser (1978) the following analytic procedures are necessary in a grounded theory study,

- Theoretical sensitivity

Theoretical sensitivity refers to the attitude of having insight, the ability to give meaning to data, the capacity to understand and capability to separate the pertinent from that which isn't (Strauss and Corbin, 1990).

- Theoretical sampling

Sampling guided by ideas which have significance for the emerging theory is called theoretical sampling. One of the main differences between this and other types of sampling is time and continuance. Unlike other sampling which is planned beforehand, theoretical sampling in grounded theory continuous throughout the study and is not planned before the study starts.

- Coding and categorising

Coding and categorising goes on throughout the research. From the start of the study, analysts code the data. Coding in grounded theory is the process by which concepts or themes are identified and named during the analysis. Data are transformed and reduced to build categories. Through the emergence of these categories theory can be evolved and integrated.

- Constant comparison

The constant comparison of the data emerging from the analysis of the data and the literature sampled in the research must remain an ongoing process throughout the research process.



- The use of the literature as data

The literature becomes a source for data. When categories have been found, researchers then search the literature for confirmation or refutation of these categories. Analysts try to find out what other researchers have found, and whether there are any links to existing theories. Indeed the literature becomes part of the data.

- Integration of theory

To be credible the theory must have explanatory power, linkages between categories and specificity. In a good project, categories are connected with each other and tightly linked to the data. Researchers do not just describe static situations but take into account processes which occur. Glaser & Strauss (1967) state that two types of theory are produced: Substantive (which emerges from a study of just one particular context, such as patients suffering from paranoia) and formal (theory which is generated from many different situations and settings, such as general experiences of suffering).

- Writing theoretical memos and field notes

While going through the process of research, the researcher should write field notes and memos. When observing and interviewing, the investigator writes field notes from the beginning of the data collection. Certain occurrences or sentences seem of vital interest and they are recorded either during or immediately after collecting the data. They remind the researcher of events, actions and interactions and trigger thinking processes (memos and field notes can also be descriptions of the setting).

### Why not use Grounded theory in my research?

Grounded theory is a similar method to ethnography, the analytic tools are similar and the methods for data analysis are virtually the same.

- a) Grounded theory can be best utilised in cases where there is very little or no work within the particular field of research (Stern, 1983). I consider it inappropriate to use this method since a similar study has been conducted by Goulding (1997) on a section of the indigenous population within England (West Midlands Region).
- b) Although ethnography and grounded theory are similar in nature and seek answers to similar social phenomena. I feel that ethnography is more fitting to this study since it concentrates on culture and power control issues, all of which are of core significance to my research.
- c) Grounded theory heavily focuses on modelling, theory building and does not allow ample room for “etic” opinions and experiences, whilst ethnography concentrates on developing a “rich” picture of the social phenomenon being studied, allows for the researchers “etic” perspective to be utilised in the research and is more focused on obtaining the “emic” perspective (Holloway & Wheeler, 1996).

### **Ethnography**

*“Once upon a time, the lone ethnographer rode of into the sunset in search of his “native.” After undergoing a series of trials, he encountered the object of his quest in a distant land. There he underwent his rite of passage by enduring the ultimate ordeal of “fieldwork.” After collecting “the data,” the lone ethnographer returned home and wrote a “true” account of “the culture”*

Renato Rosaldo, 1989, p 500

Ethnography developed as a method out of cultural anthropology with its focus on small-scale societies (Goulding, 1997). The original central concept remains paramount today, that is a concern with the nature, construction and maintenance of culture (obviously a method suitable for, in my case, the study of a heritage consumption within a post war society). Ethnographies are always informed by this concept as ethnographers aim to look at beyond what participants say in order to understand the shared system of meanings which that make up a culture. Ethnography



can be any full or partial description of a group (ethno – folk, graphy – description) as a means of identifying common threads, whether these be religion, social relationships or management style and is both a process and a method (Boyle, 1994).

There are a few variations of ethnography such as,

#### 1) Classical or Holistic Ethnography

The holistic approach is considered by anthropologists world wide to be the hallmark of classical ethnography. Some authors such as Haekel (1970), have argued that the holistic approach, by its very nature must focus on entire social groups and that the written product or outcome is always a book or a monograph. The goal of classical ethnographies such is utilizing is the description of an entire cultural system. The ethnographer looks beyond the mere parts of a culture to how those parts operate together, both statically as patterns and dynamically as interactive processes. Again the traditional classics in anthropology come to mind: Boas's (1966) ethnography of the Kwakiutl and Malinowski's (1961) study of the Trobriand Islanders. Many of the early anthropologists followed their lead, and their ethnographic works would fall into this category.

#### 2) Systematic Ethnography

Systematic ethnographers aim to define the structure of a culture, rather than to describe a people and their social interaction, emotions and materials. This school criticizes classical ethnographies for being too global and unsystematic. Proponents believe that a good systematic ethnography provides a truthful schema of the characteristic ways that the people studied organize their knowledge. Fidelity to the informants knowledge is the paramount criterion for evaluation. The image of local knowledge portrayed should be so clear that it produces a photograph rather than an impressionistic painting (Werner & Schoepfle, 1987). The aim of systematic ethnography is to discover "the native point of view", to learn the "cognitive maps" that shape the people's behaviour as members of a particular group, to develop "an ethnographic algorithm which, if followed, would make it possible ... to pass for

native” (Geertz, 1973). This aim is thought to be achievable through rigorous semantic analysis, where the primary data are folk taxonomies of words and naming units and contrast sets of terms. Formalised data collection techniques and database management are required skills, and demonstration of competence in applying them is essential.

Examples of good systematic ethnographies include several classics: Charles Frake’s (1961) “The diagnosis of disease among the Subanun of Mindanao”, Horacio Fabrega and Daniel Silver’s (1973) “Illness and Shamanistic curing in Zinacantan: an ethnomedical analysis.

Although a credible and established approach to writing up an ethnography, this approach could not be utilised due to the descriptive nature of my research. Another critical factor in the avoidance of this method is that I have aimed throughout my study to develop a comprehensive description of the postwar Croat material constructions and perspectives on the development of a new “Croat” identity, I have at no point within my study attempted to define the structure of the Croat culture.

### 3) Interpretive Ethnography

Interpretive ethnographers believe that the ethnographic analysis should discover the meanings of observed social interaction. They are intellectual descendants of Max Weber. For them, ethnography is quintessentially analytic and interpretive, rather than methodological (Wolcott, 1982). This school criticizes ethnoscientists for locating culture within people’s minds, for reducing it to a private psychology, and for not being able to determine whether their descriptions are really what people think or merely an observer’s approximations.

For this school good ethnography provides “thick description” of human behaviour and leads the reader through analyses of the myriad inferences and implications of the embeddedness of behaviour in its cultural context. Ethnography as cultural analysis is “guessing at meanings, assessing the guesses, and drawing explanatory conclusions from the better guesses, not discovering the continent of meaning and mapping out its bodiless landscape” (Geertz, 1973). It takes ethnography to higher levels of analytic



power, with the best thick description being analytically elegant: “It is not necessary to know everything in order to understand something” (Geertz, 1973). The ethnographers inference from and insight into implicit “webs of significance” (Geertz, 1973) make an otherwise dizzying compendium of detail coherent to the reader. The outcome is an ethnographic description that renders the people “accessible: setting them in the frame of their own banalities, it dissolves their opacity” (Geertz, 1973). What distinguishes better ethnographies from poorer ones can be assessed by “the power of the scientific imagination to bring us into touch with the lives of strangers” (Geertz, 1973).

Early examples of interpretive ethnography come from the late 1960s and 1970’s: Mary Douglas (1966) *Purity and danger: an analysis of the concepts of pollution and taboo*, and Clifford Geertz (1973) *Revelation and divination in Ndembu ritual*.

#### 4) Critical Ethnography

Critical ethnographers see ethnography as fiction, an invention created by the interactions of the ethnographer and the informants, who are considered to be co-authors and creatures of their own times and cultures. This stance disagrees with the assumptions of the classical ethnographer that claim that culture is “out there” waiting to be discovered. Critical ethnographers reason that because ethnography is wholly interpretive, different ethnographers would create different accounts and therefore, that any interpretation is only one possible reading of the culture studied (Noblit & Hare, 1988). This school criticizes its predecessor – interpretive ethnography- for essentializing, for “rounding off” observations to an integrated core, and thereby for excluding contrary voices that keep culture alive and ever changing.

Critical ethnographers hold that the ethnographer is an inevitable participant throughout the text and its construction. They believe that ethnography is subjective, reflecting the stance, values and awareness of its scribe. The dynamic and mutual influence of the ethnographer and research field on each other is referred to by the term “reflexivity”. Good ethnographies are explicit about the nature of the reflexivity that shaped them (Lamb and Hutlinger, 1989). Critical ethnography is thought to

present an impressionistic collage, an image that only represents a particular moment and context, not the holistic culture of interpretive ethnographers.

Two schools have emerged within the scope of critical ethnography: postmodernist and feminist. At the risk of simplistic contrast, postmodernist ethnographers are concerned fundamentally with rhetoric, with the form of the description; they view both the writing and reading of ethnography as creative processes. Feminist ethnographers in contrast, are oriented primarily towards minimizing their own expoliation of their informants and exposing the forces of oppression against the less privileged groups of society.

Critical ethnography is conventional ethnography with a political purpose (Thomas, 1993), it is based on the principle of being able to use research in order to provoke social change (Tomas, 1993), both are examples of exactly what I am attempting to achieve with this research. I personally do not deceive myself with notions that I am conducting this study to bring about social change (nor that I am capable of doing so) but to illuminate a time of evolution of the Croat people, create an understanding of how a post-war society utilises its past in order to create an acceptable new identity and most importantly critically challenge and change the way the readers thinks about this subject. Overall I have chosen to utilise Critical ethnography **not** because I am a Feminist or a Marxist (Thomas, 1993) but because I believe that Critical thinking can be beneficial to research, and it compliments my style and aids my individual research objectives.

### **The distinguishing characteristics of Ethnography**

A) It is Holistic and contextual in nature.

An ethnography is holistic and contextualizing the data involves placing observations and interview data into a larger perspective. A central tenet of ethnography is that people's behaviour can be understood only in context; that is, in the process of analysis and abstraction, the ethnographer cannot separate elements of human behaviour from their relevant contexts of meaning and purpose. Indeed it is this



context that provides for the understanding of human behaviour. Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) observed that the context includes far more than the physical environment, as “any account of human behaviour requires that we understand the social meanings that inform it”. To do that, the ethnographer needs to do more than just describe behaviour; she or he needs to understand why the behaviour takes place and under what circumstances.

Fieldwork is the hallmark of ethnographic research – working with people for long periods of time in their natural setting. Participant observation characterizes most ethnographic research and is critical to effective fieldwork. Participant observation combines participation in the lives of the people under study with maintaining some professional distance that allows for adequate observation and recording of data. Ideally participant observation is immersion in the culture or way of life of a group; often the ethnographer lives and works in the community for a long period of time – six months to several years. Agar (1980) suggested that, in ethnographic research there is always an emphasis on direct personal involvement with the people in the study. Long-term residence helps the ethnographer learn the basic beliefs, fears, hopes and expectations of the people under study and provides an opportunity to observe people as they go about the tasks of daily living. In some applied settings participation observation is often non continuous and consists of short period of intensive observation spread out over a long period of time. Participant observation sets the stage for other techniques, such as interviews, life histories and other data collection procedures. However it is done, if it is done well, participant observation provides the baseline of meaning and the contextual data for ethnography.

Ethnography, then, is labour intensive. It is not simply a series of interviews that are analysed qualitatively; ethnography always involves prolonged, direct contact with a group of participants. Learning something about a social group implies an apprenticeship role. By its very nature an apprentice’s role cannot be done for you. As Agar (1980) pointed out, it is difficult to allow another screen between yourself and the person from whom you are supposedly learning. A good ethnography attempts to describe as much as possible about a culture or social group. The description might include the groups, history, religion, politics, economy, environment and how the group relates to the social units under study. This holistic orientation demands a great

deal of time in the field, gathering the kinds of data that create a picture of the whole. Hughes (1992) stated that, in ethnography, “the goal of the enquiry is a rounded, not segmented understanding. It is comprehensive in intent”. A primary purpose of this holistic approach is to make explicit the interrelationships among the various systems and subsystems in the group under study, generally through an emphasis on the contextualization of data.

Most ethnographies are loaded with direct quotations from informants that summarize or illustrate a point the ethnographer is trying to make. Indeed “letting informants speak for themselves” is a critical part of writing up the ethnography. Bernard (1988) jokingly observed that using selected anecdotes and comments from informants helps the reader understand quickly what it took the ethnographer months or years to figure out. Using direct quotes to illustrate the study’s findings might look easy, but in actual fact it can be very complicated. Atkinson (1992) suggested that the ethnographer should edit the narrative into a coherent text so that it is fluent, coherent and readable. He describes this process as “textual conversion”.

Contrary to general belief held by ethnographers, an ethnography may contain quantitative data and analyses. Bernard’s research *Methods in Cultural Anthropology* (1988) contains a chapter on quantitative data analysis, including multivariate analysis. One characteristic of an ethnographic method is, typically, numerous sources of data. When only different qualitative data sources are used, this process is labelled as triangulation (although this term may be confused with method mixing).

## B) Reflexivity

Ethnography has a reflexive character, which implies that the researcher is part of the world he or she studies and is affected by it. In explaining this reflexivity, Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) observed that the distinction between the science and common sense, between the activities of the researcher and those of the researched, lies at the heart of both positivism and naturalism. They suggested that both positions “assume that it is possible, in principle at least, to isolate a body of data uncontaminated by the researcher, either by turning him or her into an automation or



by making him or her a neutral vessel of cultural experience”. Good ethnography is somewhere between these two extremes. The ethnographer does not take data at face value, but instead considers it as a field of inferences in which hypothetical patterns can be identified and their validity tested.

Ethnography as a process always consists partly of participant observation and partly of conversation or interview (Werner & Schoepfle, 1987). It is the mix of the two, or rather the interface between the two, that leads to the reflexivity described Hammersley and Atkinson (1983). Werner and Schoepfle (1987) explained it this way:

*As ethnographers, we try to do more than just describe the cultural knowledge of the native. We try to understand, and if possible, explain. We need to be able to explain how the natives could possibly view the world as they do. The paradox of this situation is that all description, understanding, and explanation of the natives cultural knowledge is based fundamentally on two disparate, incompletely transmittable, presumptive systems of knowledge – the knowledge of the native and the knowledge of the ethnographer.*

*Werner and Schoepfle (1987), p 39*

They observed that “this combination of insider/outsider provides deeper insights than are possible by the native alone or an ethnographer alone. The two view, side by side, produce a “third dimension” that rounds out the ethnographic picture” thus it can be stated that a good ethnography produces theory from the reflexive nature of the ethnographic experience. A good ethnography is always more than just a description – it is a theoretical explanation. The level and power of the theory vary according to the scope and focus of the ethnography.

### c) Emics and Etics

Ethnographers use constructs of the participants and also apply their own scientific conceptual framework, the so called emic and etic perspectives (Haris, 1976). Initially

the researcher needs to develop an understanding of the emic perspective or the insiders point of view. The insider's accounts of reality help to uncover knowledge about why people act the way that they do. A researcher that uses the emic perspective gives explanations of events from the cultural members point of view. This perspective is essential in a study like this one, particularly in the beginning as it helps prevent the imposition of my own values, beliefs and expectations upon another culture.

The outsider's perspective, also known as the etic view has been all too prevalent for far too long within qualitative research (Holloway & Wheeler, 1996). Outsiders such as professional researchers, used to identify their own interpretation of a problem within a culture and described them rather than actively listening to the participant's point of view. Now those that are experiencing a cultural phenomenon are allowed to speak for themselves as they are not only experts in the cultural phenomenon at hand but also add their own feelings and perceptions. As Harris (1976) states: "the way to get inside of people's heads is to talk with them, ask questions about what they think and feel". The emic perspective corresponds to the reality and definition of informants (Holloway & Wheeler, 1996).

Researchers who are studying a culture or subculture do gain knowledge of the existing rules and patterns from its members; the emic perspective is thus culturally specific. Holloway and Wheeler (1996) state that it is helpful if the researcher is not a member of the culture being studied because this could mean the infection of the study by baggage carried by the researcher, this can be extremely dangerous though because the researcher, by being a part of the culture they examine can lose awareness of their role as researcher and sometimes rely on assumptions which do not necessarily have a basis in reality. This problem has not come up within this research though because apart from having been born in Croatia I had never spent any time there, becoming culturally aware and politically influenced.

Of course the etic view is important as well. Etic meanings stress the ideas of ethnographers themselves, their abstract and theoretical view when they distance themselves from the cultural setting and attempt to make sense of it. Harris (1976) explains that etics are scientific, objective accounts by the researcher, based on what



is directly observable. The researchers place individuals' ideas in a structural framework and interpret it by adopting a social science perspective on the setting.

These ideas correspond directly to those of Denzin (1989) who speak of first order and second order concepts. First order concepts are those used in the common sense perspective of everyday life, while second order concepts are more abstract and imposed by the researcher. For instance individuals often mention the term "learning the job", which could be called a first order concept recognised by people in everyday life. A social scientist would call the same concept "occupational socialisation", a second order concept. The two terms illuminate the difference between lay language and academic language.

It must be kept in mind, however that the emic view cannot be simply translated into an etic perspective. The meaning from the participants differs from scientific interpretations. Researchers move back and forth, from the reality of informants to scientific interpretation, but they must find a balance between involvement in the culture they study and the scientific reflections and ideas about the beliefs and practices within the culture. Fetterman (1989) describes this as iteration, where researchers revise ideas and build upon previous stages.

### **Methods of Data Collection and Interpretation**

The data collection consisted mostly of unstructured interviews, non-participant and participant observation, and photography. All interviews were audiotaped and twenty of the forty-three taped interviews were translated into English and transcribed (the remaining twenty-three interviews were played back, listened to and analysed from the recordings). Throughout the interviews skeletal notes/memo's were jotted down and then fleshed out as soon afterwards as possible. Observations or data gathered through the interviews were reported into a microcassette recorder during the course of a day's research activities; then played back as prompts for creating more detailed field notes at the end of the day.

## Interviews

Ethnographers supplement what they learn through participant observation by interviewing people who can help them understand the setting or group they are researching. It can be useful to interview a variety of people at various points in ethnographic research. For example, interviews might be helpful when choosing a site, when choosing a guiding question, after much participant observation, when the informants are going through changes that interest you, and other times. While participant observation lends information about behaviour in action, interviews provide a chance to learn how people reflect directly on behaviour, circumstances, identity, events, and other things. This can be very valuable in fulfilling the main goal of ethnography: gaining an insider's perspective.

An important part of the interview is establishing rapport with the informant. I have found that the best way to do this is by *being a good listener*. It is crucial for ethnographers to listen far more than they talk in interviews. Conveying genuine interest to the interviewee and doing what we can to make the other person socially comfortable are also high priorities. We should also endeavour to choose settings where our participants can relax and talk openly (I usually used the participants homes). Depending in the circumstances of the field site or the participant's position within it, it may be important to conduct the interview in a private place. The author always ensured that the participant knew that the interview was to be utilised as data for a research project and understood the implications of being interviewed.

It is of critical importance to tape the interview, with the informant's informed consent. Even for people who are very good at keeping notes during a conversation, it is extremely helpful to have an actual account of exactly what was said so that one may listen to it many times. In addition, it is possible to focus more attention on establishing rapport, taking in nonverbal clues, and the like if it isn't necessary to write very much during the interview. Taping also allowed me to transcribe the interview for later close inspection. This inspection, allowed the author to uncover layers of meaning in what the participants said. After the interview I always made memos about what was observed/learned.



Transcribing interviews opened up enormous potential for learning through close attention to detail. And yet, it was challenging to find ways to translate, render live conversation accurately on paper, since such crucial elements as tone of voice, facial expression, pauses, and other things can be difficult to capture on paper.

### **Fieldnotes in Ethnography**

As an Ethnographer I had to engage in participant observation in order to gain insight into the cultural practices/rituals/ideologies and phenomena while in Croatia. These insights developed over time and through repeated analysis of many aspects of the field sites. To facilitate this process, ethnographers must learn how to take useful and reliable notes regarding the details of life in their research contexts (Sanjek, 1990). These field notes constituted a major part of the data on which my later conclusions and explanatory categories were based.

According to Chiseri-Strater and Sustain (1997) field notes should be written as soon as possible after leaving the fieldsite, immediately if possible. Even though we may not think so when we are participating and observing, we are all very likely to forget important details unless we write them down very quickly. Since this may be very time-consuming, ethnographers should plan to leave a block of time for writing just after leaving the research context. I tended to develop my field notes (jottings) whilst interviewing the subject in order to record any variations in behaviour and expressions observed from the participant. These initial jottings were later inflated out when the participant had gone.

Chiseri-Strater and Sunstein (1997) have developed a list of what should be included in all field notes:

- Date, time, and place of observation.
- Specific facts, numbers, details of what happens at the site.

- Sensory impressions: sights, sounds, textures, smells, tastes.
- Personal responses to the fact of recording field notes.
- Specific words, phrases, summaries of conversations, and insider language.
- Questions about people or behaviours at the site for future investigation.
- Page numbers to help keep observations in order.

Methods of writing field notes can be very personal, and we are all likely to develop ways of including and separating the above four parts which work for us but might not work for others.

### **Analysing the data**

Analysis entails working with the data. After processing the data by coding, I transformed it from the raw data by recognising patterns and themes and making linkages between ideas. Analysis cannot proceed without interpretation but is more scientific and systematic; it brings order to disorderly data, and the researcher must show how he or she arrived at the structures or linkages. At this stage other people's research connected with the emergent themes becomes part of the analytic process through comparison and integration in the study. It is important that the analysis accurately reflects the data. Whatever I had found had to be related back to the data in order to see whether there was a fit between them and the analytic categories and themes.

As in other forms of qualitative research, data analysis takes place from the beginning of the observation and interviews. The focus becomes progressively clearer. In the data analysis stage I had revisited the aims and the research question of my study many times and modified them. Analysis takes more time than data collection. Fielding (1993) claims that in the analysis, description of behaviour and events does not suffice, and that the aim of ethnography is more than the description of a group or culture. The process of analysis involves several steps (Holloway & Wheeler, 1996):



- 1) Ordering and organising the collected material.
- 2) Re-reading the data.
- 3) Breaking the material into manageable pieces.
- 4) Building, comparing and contrasting categories.
- 5) Searching for relationships and grouping categories together.
- 6) Recognising and describing patterns, themes and typologies.
- 7) Interpreting and searching for meaning.

Spradeley (1979) claims that analysis involves the “systematic examination of something to determine its parts, the relationship among parts, and their relationship to the whole”. Agar (1980) stresses the non-linear nature of the process: researchers collect data through which they learn about a culture; they try to make sense of what they saw and heard, and then they collect new data on the basis of their analysis and interpretation.

The data are scanned and organized from the very beginning of the study. If gaps and inadequacies occur, they may be filled by collecting more data or re-focusing on the initial aims of the study. While this work goes on, researchers may choose to focus on particular aspects, which they examine more closely than others.

In re-reading the data, thoughts and observations were recorded and a search for regularities had begun. The first interview, or the first detailed description of observation, was scanned and marked off into sections, which were then given codes. The second and third interview transcripts were then coded and compared with the first. Commonalities and similar codes are sorted and grouped together. This happened for each interview (or observation). Thematically similar sets are placed together. I then tried to find the ideas which link the categories and describe and summarise them. From this stage onwards diagrams were helpful because they presented the links and patterns graphically (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

The regularities and emerging themes were grouped into sub-categories, which I compared and reduced into explanatory categories of behaviour. From this point broad patterns of thought and behaviour began to emerge. The patterns and regularities have their basis in the actual observations and interviews; they have been

connected with the personal experiences of the researcher and the categories and themes drawn from the literature.

### **Analysing the data via computer aided packages (NU.DIST)**

There has been for a while a debate regarding the use of computers in the analysis of qualitative data. For the purposes of discussion I intend to concentrate on what is considered to be the most sophisticated of the current range, (NU.DIST) (Richards & Richards, 1994). NU.DIST claims to ease the laborious and time consuming process of transcribing, identifying and cross checking concept development (Goulding, 1997).

Richards and Richards (1994) suggest that qualitative researchers experience pressure to use computers in data analysis. This is largely attributed to the fact that computers are less concerned with emotional experiences and more concerned with structure, which in the eyes of many equates to a higher level of credibility in the findings. However it is my argument that the very essence of the qualitative research process is based on the personal experiences of the researcher, the emotions, process and situational factors serve to add depth and paint a fuller image of the research rather than detracting from the emerging developments (Goulding, 1997).

Traditionally most packages have been limited to code and retrieve facilities, which are useful for working with structures but are very limited in their analysis of content. Richards & Richards (1991) state that NU.DIST has extended the scope in order to address the various challenges and criticisms associated with the limitations of earlier software by aiming at theory construction and development by introducing a range of tools and applications. These tools incorporate the handling of manuscripts, notebooks, text and unit indexing whilst allowing for searches to create new indexing categories.



Finally, the system ensures the minimisation of clerical effort and error, thus it may be argued, legitimising the findings over and above those derived from manual interpretation.

It is clear to see the advantages and appeals in the usage of NU.DIST as a data analysis tool, it truly does have much to offer in terms of simplifying the data analysis process. However, the creators of the programme are aware of the pitfalls associated with too heavy reliance on the machine.

Denzin & Lincoln (1994) state that many software packages remain limited to pure code and retrieval procedures, which consequently ignore, or do not have the ability to incorporate situational and contextual factors.

A highly dangerous practice in the usage of data analysis packages is the tendency of researchers to reduce field materials to only codable data, which will result in a loss of rich and valuable sources of concepts and theories. A further danger is the possibility that the researcher may even of design the research itself to fit the available software. This in itself could have disastrous consequences on the range and scope of qualitative research projects.

Richards & Richards (1994) acknowledge that they still face a number of challenges in the quest for total analysis of unstructured data. It is known that ideas, concepts and categories discovered in the data are woven by the researcher into a fabric of theory. This process remains unsolved to software designers worldwide.

A potential problem that I have identified in using any electronic database relates to the fact that while the system removes many constraints of size and variety of records, which releases the researcher on one hand, the danger on the other, is that the result is a form of methodological anomie. This must surely create problems if one is claiming an ethnographic analysis, a phenomenological analysis, or any other defined paradigm, as each has their own distinct philosophies, practices and procedures.

NU.DIST poses certain problems from the theory development angle (Goulding, 1997). The programme does not allow for the visual display of conceptual level diagrams and models that show emerging theory. This means that the researcher will still have to revert back to pencil and paper to do this in order to trace developments and move forward.

Richards and Richards (1991) called for a greater debate with regard to the challenges and meaning associated with the transformation from manual analysis to computer assisted forms. They propose that computational knowledge means transforming qualitative methods. This they suggest requires the consideration of a number of issues which include:

- 1) An acknowledgment that researchers can contextualise an interpretation and return to it later. Any technique that relies on segmenting and de-contextualising puts this ability at risk as context is not simply achieved by attaching a file name to it. Dembrowski and Hemmer-Loyd (1995) further point to the concern may take over the detriment of the thinking process which is so vital to qualitative analysis (although they do point out that the machine can only do what it is directed to do and the main burden still remains with the researcher).
- 2) Qualitative research involves an understanding of the process and the ability from the side of the researcher to draw upon knowledge from outside the text (literature, reflection on the process and so on) which is surely beyond the scope of any programme. This loss of the wider picture and non textual sources of information is also highlighted by Dembrowski and Hammer-Lloyd (1995) who discuss the fear that data analysis may become mechanistic to the catastrophic detriment of intuition and creativity.

All the above issues certainly provide food for thought. However there is a further, and in the case of this research a more important issue at stake, and that is the nature of the researcher, their relationship with the data and the level of involvement in the



process, their preferred patterns of working and their own mental processes of collecting, reading, making sense of and interpreting their findings.

On a personal level, I chose to analyse my data manually more for these reasons, rather than from a distrust or dislike of the machine. In order to expand on the reasons why I chose to manually analyse the data and clarify my position, the following is a summary of my own personal perspective.

### The issue of control

To the author the process of interpreting the data was a very personal one which occurs over time and through a process of constant review and re-evaluation of the information at hand.

The nature of qualitative data is as such that it cannot be instantly dissected and understood, but requires a constant reflection, a sense of orientation and a personal understanding of context although it is important to count for themes, they themselves may be subordinate at times to the more subtle nuances of behaviour that signal and convey greater meaning than the spoken word. For example, while observing at the site of Diocletian's Palace in Split, one group of visitors spoke volumes about their experience without uttering a single word. Their expressions and mannerisms provided an insight into their behaviour that would be impossible to relate to a computer programme. In many cases it was the non verbal signals that revealed crucial information to the behaviour of the participants, a facial expression, enthusiasm, the tone of voice with which they expressed themselves or the look of anger all acted as important sources of rich data.

### The 24 - hour body clock

As an individual I do not produce work at a steady and sequential rate. I noticed that I could stare at the data for hours without noticing any trends, the only thing to do at such a time is to leave it alone, concentrate on something else and allow the thoughts

to germinate within my mind. Quite often this took the form of revisiting the data whilst I was playing basketball or working on my car, in which case I would always keep a copy of the data on me at all times.

The idea of revisiting the data was a constant feature throughout the process. I found that after transcribing the interviews I needed to go back and re-read them and listen to my tapes over and over again in order to fully understand the participant. This became very much a part of the process, as did extended memo writing, the elimination of early codes, and the drawing of diagrams, which would aid me in keeping relationships clear and firmly in my mind.

### An ocular need for clarity

For me, the screen of my PC was adequate for the purpose of diagramming and memoing at an early stage. However as the research progressed I felt the need to transfer the data onto paper and scribble in new themes, diagrams and relationships. A common technique which I used was using a wall in my bedroom as a piece of paper and writing down onto it all my diagrams, cluster pictures and ideas. By using space in this way I could group data in a more understandable way and thus gain a clearer insight into themes that had greater commonality and significance.

### Interpreting the findings

I was now ready to take the last step, that of interpretation during and after the analysis, making references, providing meaning and giving explanations for the phenomena which were emerging from the data. While describing and analysing, I interpreted the findings, that is I gained insight and gave meaning to them. Interpretation, although linked to the analysis, is not as factual; it is more speculative, involving theorising and explaining. Interpretation links the emerging ideas derived from the analysis to establish theories, through comparing and contrasting others' work with my own. The interpretation of data though can become more



epistemological if the analysis is triangulated through a network of researchers, which will reinforce the research findings (Holloway & Wheeler, 1996).

### **Why use Critical Ethnography?**

Why have I chosen critical ethnography as a research methodology? well to begin with I feel that a PhD thesis is a long term commitment and in order to sustain that commitment it should be a product of personal interest, both from the subject area and the methodology upon which my findings will be based (Goulding (1997). According to Stern (1994) methods are personal, people think differently and have their own way of getting to some type of “truth”. Knafl (1994) proposes that this is something that is seldom discussed. The fit between the method and the person, between their style of working, and who they are and how they think. I knew from day one that I wanted to address issues and attempt to deal with my research question in such a way that would not come down to wrestling with statistics, but was premised on the perspectives of those studied. I wanted to be involved in the research process and gain first hand experience of the phenomena, rather than be faced with anonymous piles of questionnaires to be analysed by a computer (a process which Becker (1993) warns the researcher about due to them desensitising and distancing the researcher from the data).

It was only logical that an interpretivist methodology was selected as the basis for enquiry. Ethnography (Critical form) was eventually chosen after a great deal of consideration. Ethnography appeared to have much to offer, particularly in the topic area. The following summarises the key points which helped me make my decision:-

- Ethnography has a set of established guidelines both for conducting research and for interpreting the data.
- It is a methodology, which encourages creativity and development.
- It is especially renowned for its application to the study of Culture.

- It is an established and credible methodology, particularly in such disciplines as anthropology and nursing, but has never before been utilised in the study of Croatian culture. This therefore gave me the opportunity to apply a legitimate methodology in a different world.

The following chapter aims to address the issue of research locations or field sites, which were chosen in Croatia. The chapter aims at providing a rich picture of the sites, the reasons why they were chosen, their distinct cultural impact upon post war Croatia and their individual histories. The chapter instigates with the Palace of Diocletian in Split and its Roman influence, continues with Solin and its Greek stimulus, progresses to Trogir, the Venetian island fortress and concludes in Zagreb and the Artistic Pavilion.



## **Chapter Five**

### **The locations of the study**

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### The Locations of the Study

#### Fieldsites in Ethnography

Traditionally, anthropologists have undertaken ethnographic research in small, bounded villages while living among the village's relatively few inhabitants. These ethnographers may have been one of few non-natives in that part of the world and may have been one of the first non-natives that the villagers had ever seen. It may have taken these researchers a year or more in the field to gain the language skills necessary for communication before becoming able to fashion appropriate guiding questions. These long stretches away from their homelands may have been very stressful.

Today, however, fieldsites can be found nearly anywhere. Research may still focus on village life, but it is also increasingly likely to take place in urban locales or in the native language of the ethnographer. Sometimes the "group" among whom one wants to study does not live in one location, and our main fieldsite will be a workplace (like a bank), or a religious centre (like a mosque), or a generic meeting room where some group meets regularly (like a conference meeting room where Alcoholics Anonymous meetings take place), or even in cyberspace (like a chat room). "Multi-sited" fieldwork, which allows ethnographers to engage in research in more than one locale for comparative purposes, is also possible (Holloway and Wheeler, 1996).

It is possible to choose a fieldsite first and then to make a guiding question appropriate to the site. It is also possible to start with a question about a certain cultural process and to find a site where that question might be appropriate. Either method for setting up a project can work, as long as the site and the question are relevant to one another. In other words, one must be careful that your research questions focus upon something important about social and cultural life and practices in the group you have chosen (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000).



Once a potential fieldsite has been selected, ethnographers must negotiate entry. This involves getting permission to visit the site for research purposes from members and often from a person in authority in the site or groups as well.

### **The location of the field work**

With regard to the fieldwork, the data was primarily collected at three historical sites (Data collection at Solin was hastily terminated by the authorities). The sites were chosen because of their importance in defining particular historical periods which have shaped perceptions of history and identity in Croatia today:

1. Split - Diocletians Palace (fifteen participants)
2. Solin - Old town (one participant)
3. Trogir - Trogir Castle (twenty-two participants)
4. Zagreb - The Artistic Pavilion (five participants)

A period of four months was spent in Croatia, observing, interviewing and developing ongoing relationships with participants, which the author has remained in close contact with up until the present. Data collection took the form of observations of behaviour, photographs of sites and monuments, and tape recorded interviews with visitors. Interviews lasted an average of sixty minutes, although some were as short as twenty minutes. Other informants were happy to discuss their experiences for up to two hours. In total, over fifty hours of taped interview data was collected from fifty informants of which only forty three were useable. The age range of these informants was between eighteen and one hundred and two. The majority however, were in their twenties, thirties, forties, and fifties, as the very young and particularly the very old shared a deep suspicion of strangers and were more reluctant to talk. The sample also varied in terms of education level and occupations. With regard to gender, there was a fairly even split between males and females, although it must be stated that the women were far more honest, courageous and expansive on what might be considered a very sensitive and dangerous issue. Nevertheless, this co-operation was only given after overcoming initial problems of suspicion and distrust. Informants were made aware of the purpose and aims of the study for two reasons. The first concerned ethical protocol which has been a criticism of ethnography in the

past. According to Atkinson and Hammersley (1995) issues usually arise around the following:

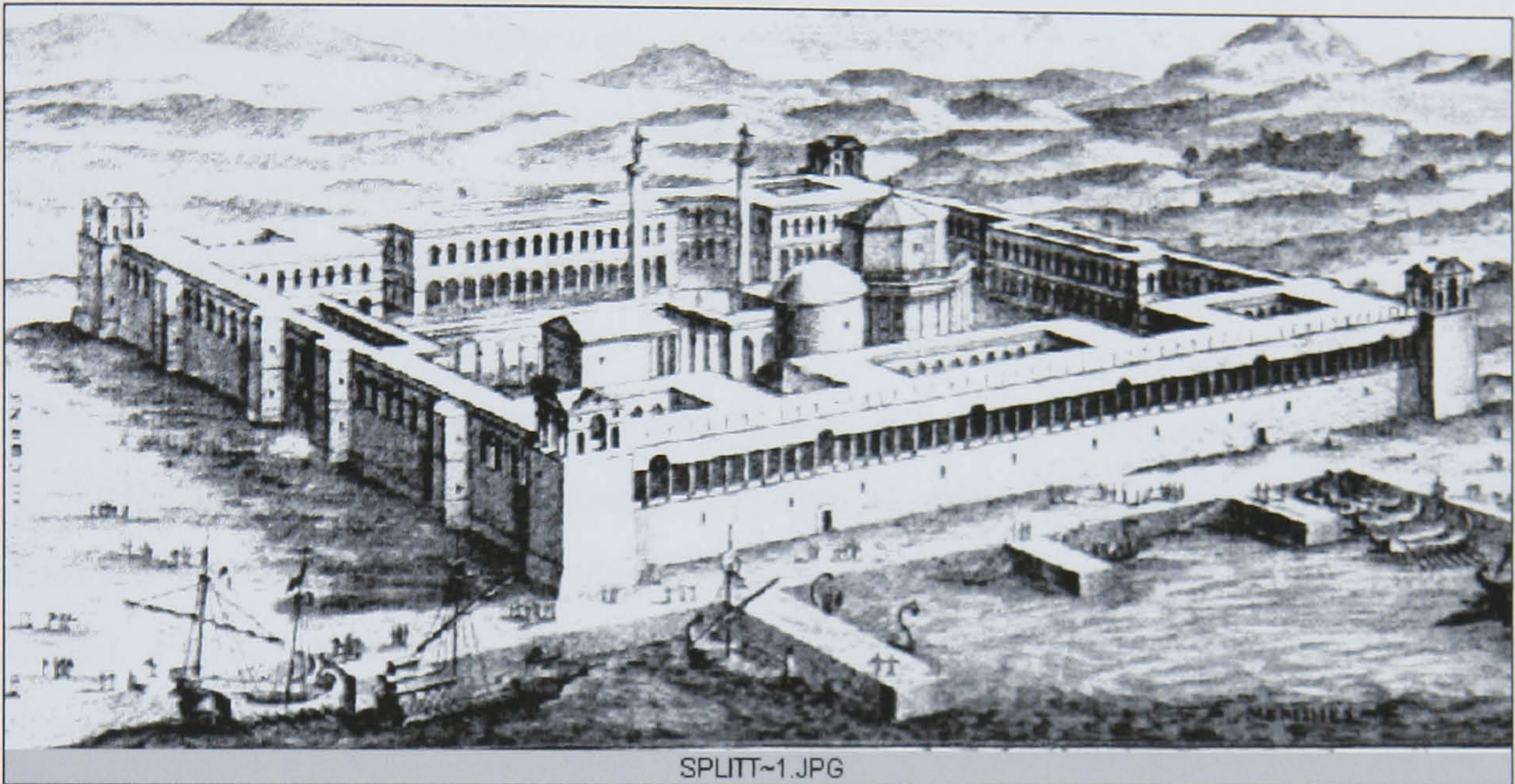
1. Whether the investigator is known to be a researcher by those studied
2. How much, and what is known by the participants about the research
3. What sort of activities are and are not engaged in by the researcher
4. What is the orientation of the researcher and how involved is he/she in the situation

While these factors are not necessarily unique to ethnography, the matter of involvement and participation brought them very much to the forefront. This relates to the second reason, gaining trust and confidence. In order to gain co-operation it was vital to provide the participants with information about the study. For example, many of the older, and some younger individuals, thought that the information was going to be used by the Croatian Democratic Union (referred to from now on as the HDZ) to identify those who would betray and shame their nation to a foreign institution. Others thought that MI6 were behind the research. Some individuals, when approached, displayed quite aggressive behaviour, while others were more curious as to why a British University would be interested in Croat heritage. Because of this uncertainty many refused to be interviewed on site, but a few daring ones issued invitations to their homes where they were safer from the prying eyes of their countrymen and more at ease. Overall, it was evident that a vast proportion of the population were very scared to speak without fully understanding the context and aims of the research.

The following section undertakes a comprehensive look at the field sites selected for this research. The subsequent section aims to generate a rich picture with regard to the history and development of the specific sites and assert the cause for their historical importance to post-civil-war Croatia and this study.



THE "PALACE" OF DIOCLETIAN AT SPLIT: A unique structure from the  
LATER Roman empire



*Fischer von Erlach's reconstruction of Split, from his Entwuerff einer historischen  
Architektur, Vienna 1721, Tafel X*

The city of Spalato, which means "little palace", was founded by the Emperor Diocletian; he made it his own dwelling place, and built within it a court and a palace, most part of which has been destroyed. But a few things remain to this day, e.g. the episcopal residence of the city and the church of St Domnus, in which St Domnus himself lies, and which was the resting place of the same emperor Diocletian. Beneath it are arching vaults, which used to cover the city throughout, and which hold the palace and living quarters to this very day. The vaults were used as prisons, in which he cruelly confined the saints whom he tormented. The defence-wall of this city is constructed neither of bricks nor of concrete, but of ashlar blocks, one and often two fathoms in length by a fathom across, and these are fitted and joined to one another by iron clamps puddled into molten lead. In this city also stand close rows of columns, with entablatures above, on which this same Emperor Diocletian proposed to erect arching vaults, to a height of two and three stories, so that the columns covered little



ground-space in the same city. The defence wall of this city has neither fortifications nor safeguards, but only lofty walls and arrow-slits (Porphyrogennetos 1949).

Split - or Spalato - is one of the most extraordinary places of the later Roman world, being no less than the palace which the Emperor Diocletian began building in 293 AD in readiness for his retirement from politics in 305. On the Dalmatian coast, adjacent to the Roman city of Salonae, it takes the dual form of a legionary camp similar to those still to be seen on the frontiers of Syria (appropriately so, for Diocletian was of necessity a military emperor) but also, with its splendid loggias, of an Italian house.

The name "Split" was, for the fanciful down the ages, a contraction of "Spalatum" that is "palatium" or "palace". A similar example of folk etymology is to be found in Sicily, where the late Roman villa with prestigious mosaics, at Casale, is near a town called Piazza Armerina, "Piazza" here likely being derived from "palatium". Constantine Porphyrogenitus certainly thought so, but contemporary opinion holds that the name more likely derives from the Greek name for the area - Aspalathos, which is a shrub.

The importance of Split resides both in its state of preservation, and in the dearth of comparable examples from the Roman world. There are no coherent palace structures left in Italy, for example: fragments exist at Ravenna, although they are difficult to identify; the Palatine Hill in Rome (the origin of the word "palace", because that is where the Imperial Palaces were) presents several overlapping structures - but nothing in so coherent a form as Split, where the structure of the palace/camp tells us much about imperial ceremonial and god like pretensions.

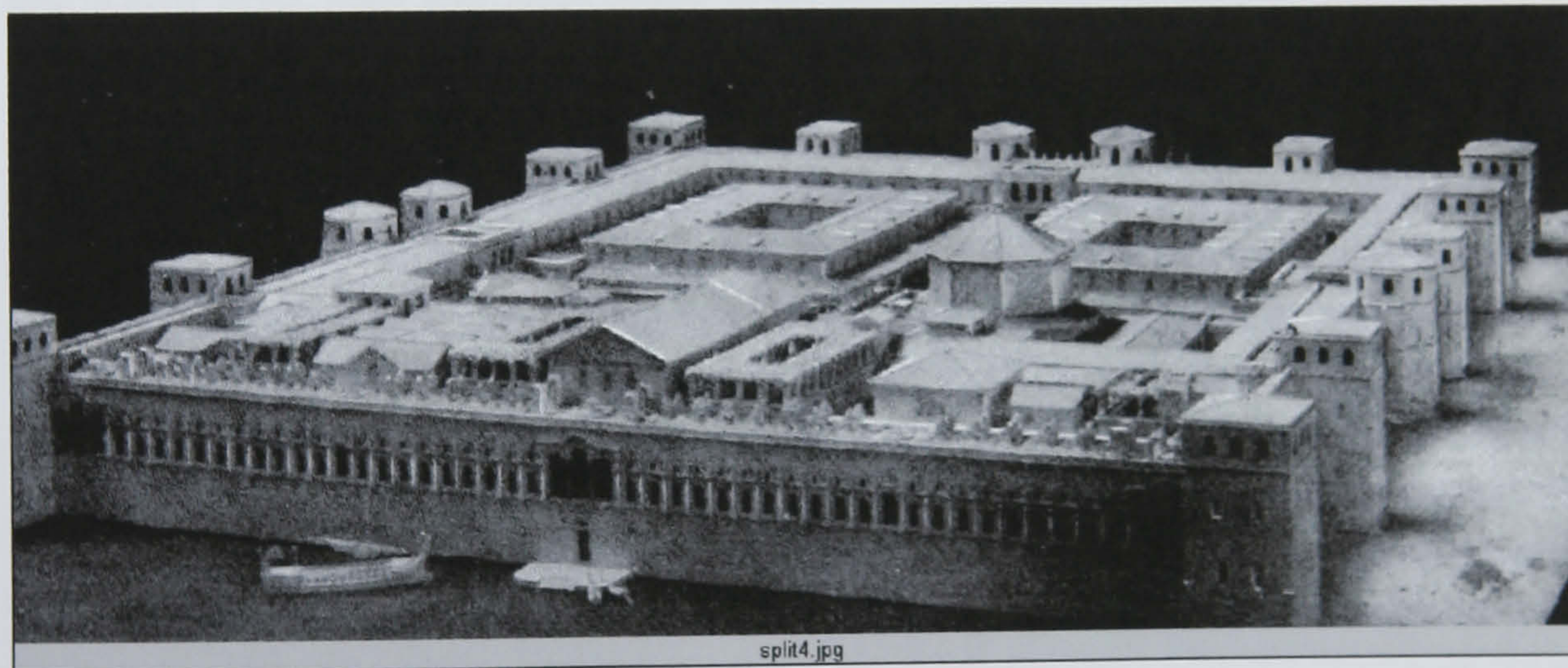
Though Constantine, from a very obvious prejudice, affects to mention the Palace of Diocletian with contempt, yet one of their successors, who could only see it in a neglected and mutilated state, celebrates its magnificence in terms of the highest admiration ... The form was quadrangular, flanked by sixteen towers ... The whole was constructed of a beautiful free stone, extracted from the neighbouring quarries of Trau, or Tragutium, and very little inferior to marble itself. Four streets, intersecting each other at right angles, divided the several parts of this great edifice, and the approach to the principal apartment was from a very stately entrance, which is still



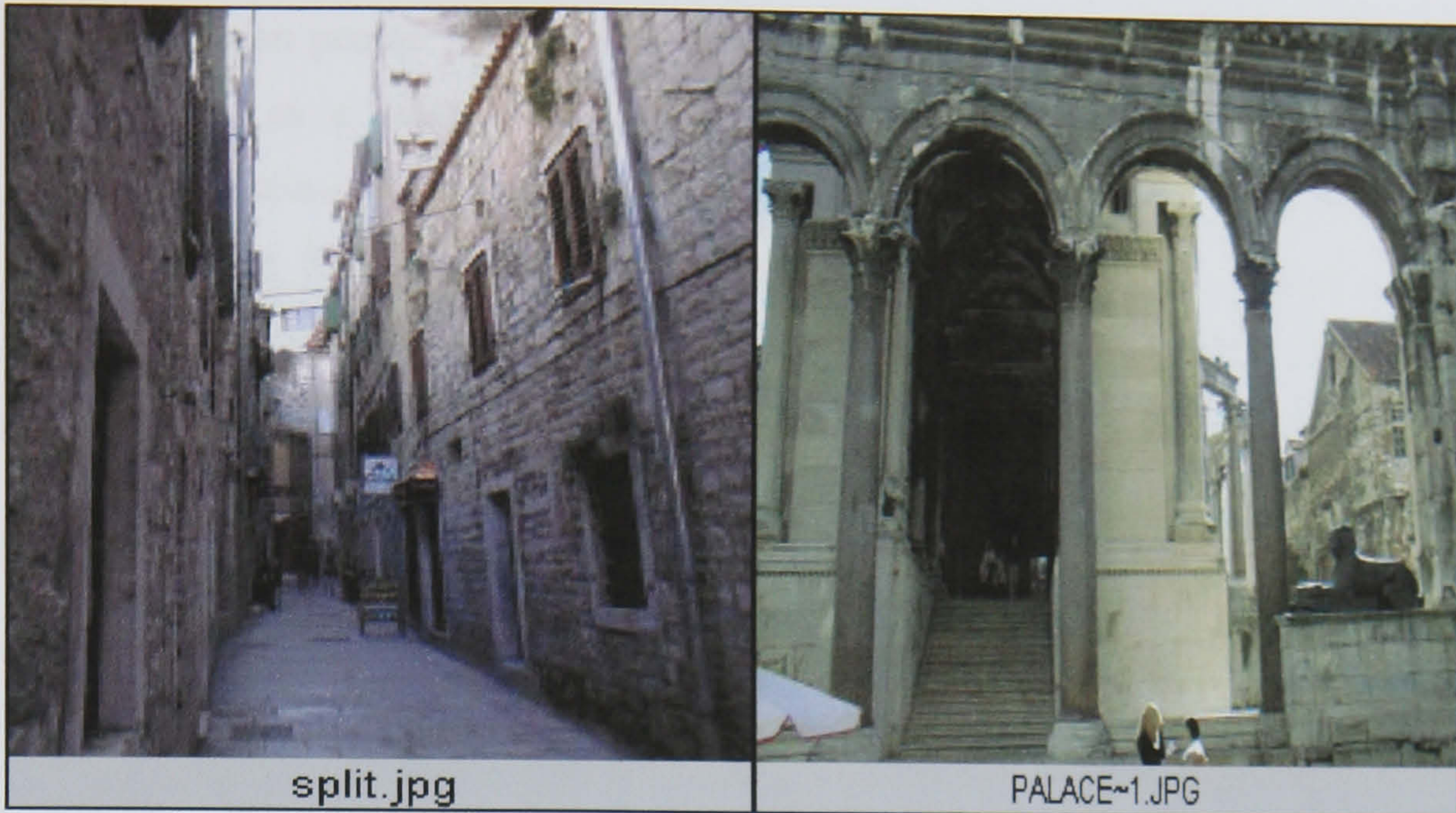
called the Golden Gate. The approach was terminated by a peristylum of granite columns, on the one side of which lies the square temple of Aesculapius, and on the other the octagon temple of Jupiter...

The range of principal apartments was protected towards the south west by a portico five hundred and seventeen feet long, which must have formed a very noble and delightful walk when the beauties of painting and sculpture were added to those of the prospect.

The ground-plan is a trapezoid, with the south (sea) side (157.5 meters) endowed with a splendid balcony but only a small gate. The longer walls are on the east (191.25meters) and west (192.10meters) sides and these, together with the closing wall to the north (150.9meters) have impressive gates. The walls are some 17meters in height, and 2meters thick, and are largely intact, with square towers at the corners and on the long sides, and fancier octagonal ones flanking all the landward gates.







*Roman built Callete (small roads)*

*Temple of Aesculapius*

The Palace is built of a high quality, white local limestone, most of which was excavated from quarries on the island of Brac, along with tuffa which was taken from the nearby river beds and brick made from Salonitan and other workshops. Some of the materials used for decoration were imported: Egyptian granite columns and sphinxes, fine marble used for revetments and some capitals produced in workshops in the Proconnesos.

Water supplied to the palace was channelled from the Jadro river near Salona. Along the road from Split to Salona impressive remains of the original aqueduct can still be seen. The aqueducts were extensively restored in the nineteenth century.

What makes Split so impressive is that the post-antique housing does not totally hide the Roman arrangement - that is: the colonnaded streets, the Emperor's apartments, the Great Hall & Peristyle Complex, the Temple; the Emperor's Mausoleum, and its walls & gates.

The significance of Split and more specifically Diocletians Palace as a fieldsite for this study lies in its consistent employment by the indigenous subjects as one of the many archaeological tools utilised as concrete evidence of the non-Yugoslav origins



of the Croatian people. The alignment with the Roman (non Yugoslav) self in this context acts as a support mechanism to post-civil-war beliefs. The visitors to Diocletians palace range from busy locals going about their day-to-day business to tourists taking frenzied snapshots whilst consuming a modern, post-war Croatian perspective of the past. Participants at the site were tactfully selected and recruited whilst within the Palace predominantly on the grounds of the intensity of interest, which they demonstrated towards the representations of the past on display.



### SOLIN: A Greek influence



Salona was a stronghold and a harbour of the Illyrian Delmati, which quite early came into the sphere of influence of the Greeks on the Adriatic. Julius Caesar, who was then the governor of Illyricum gave it the rank of a colony “Colonia Martia Julia Salona” the centre of the province of Illyricum and afterwards of the province of Dalmatia. It developed into a cosmopolitan centre of the Adriatic. The high point of its expansion was during the time of Diocletian when it received the honorary title “Valeria”, which as a family name belonged to the emperor himself. In the period between the IVth and VIth centuries, Salona became an important centre of Christianity. It fell before the onslaught of the Avars and Slavs around the year 641.

The Illyrian core of the city was only recently discovered . A segment of the city walls along with a monumental gate “Porta Caesarea” and towers has been preserved from the first Roman phase. The city quickly spread to the East and West and in the Ist century was enclosed by newly built walls. The Forum was located in the centre of the city near the sea. In the Ist century a theatre and baths were built next to it. A much better preserved complex of baths was found to the East of the later bishop's basilica in the eastern part of the city. Here we also find the sumptuous Villa Urbana known for its mosaics with depictions of Apollo Orpheus Triton, which is displayed



in the Split Archaeological Museum. Within the fortification system in the north-western corner of the city an amphitheatre was raised in the 2nd century. The great city Necropolis containing some of the most famous sarchophagi in Solin stood alongside the road that led to Tragurium (Necropolis in Horto Metrodori).

Christian grave yards with basilicas grew on pagan necropoles. The oldest basilica is known as "The Basilica of the Ve Martyrs" on Kapljuc next to the city walls. The most complex of all is the Manastirine, the starting point of most walks through Solin. The most interesting in view of new architectural solutions, is the Early Christian necropolis on Marusinac. Two large basilicas "Geminae" stood in the new Christian centre of Salona. The northern basilica had three naves, a baptistry and the Episcopal palace that was organically connected to it. During the last phase the southern basilica received a cross-like ground plan. Both were connected with a narthex. It is important to mention that eight additional basilicas have been discovered within the city perimeter. Most of the movable monuments from Salona are now housed in the Archaeological Museum, in Split, which was founded in 1821.

The old Croatian Solin grew alongside the river Jadro to the East of the ruins of the Antique city. The churches built by the Early Medieval Croatian rulers have been thoroughly investigated including, St Mary's and St Stephen's churches, the royal mausoleums alongside today's church of "Our Lady of the Isle", where the famous table containing Queen Jelena's epitaph was found, the church in Gradina (possibly a reused Early Christian edifice) and King Zvonimir's coronation "Hollow church" (XIth century) built on the foundations of one of the most monumental Early Christian basilicas on the eastern Adriatic coast. The remnants of the Benedictine monastery in Ritince beneath Klis lie a little further from this spot. A number of Old Croatian necropoles have been discovered in the surrounding area. The finds are presented in the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments and in the Archaeological Museum in Split.

Data collection within the city of Solin came to an abrupt halt within the first hour due to the intervention of the authorities, I was ordered to leave the site because I was considered "a disturbance to the peace", thus, even though only one interview was



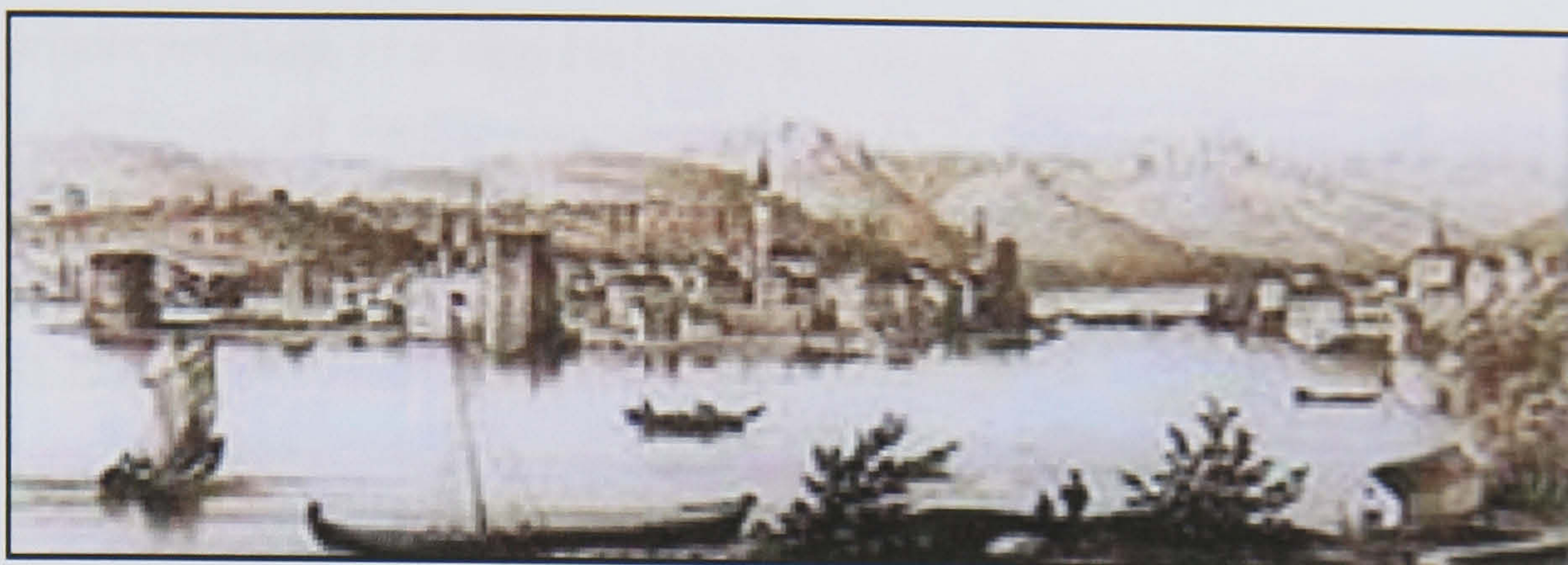
carried out within this site the author still lists Solin as one of the locations of the study.

The importance of Solin as a fieldsite for this study remains, in its usage by the indigenous subject as one of the many archaeological tools utilised as proof of the non-Yugoslav origins of the Croatian people. The alignment with a Greek (non Yugoslav) influence in this context acts as a support mechanism to post-civil-war beliefs. The visitors to Solin range from inquisitive locals to international tourists consuming the modern, post-war Croatian perspective of the past.





## TROGIR: A Venetian island fortress



### **TROGIR - FROM THE PRIMEVAL AGE TO THE PRESENT**

The history of Trogir can be traced back to its original inhabitants, the Illyrians who established their settlement on the grounds of what is today's Trogir. The first colonizers of the Adriatic islands and coast were *Doric Greeks from Syracuse* who founded Issa on the island of Vis in 390 B.C., and in the 3rd century B.C. the colony of Tragurion. The Greek historians and geographers Ptolomey and Strabo mention Trogir as an Isseian "island and city". After his victory over Pompey, Caesar punished Issa by abolishing its independence and taking away its mainland properties, including Trogir.

Pliny, the Elder Roman historian, mentions *Trogir-Tragurium* in the 1st Century as a Roman city well-known for marble, whereas Peuntiger's Table and Antoninus's Itinerary show Trogir as an important port and state granary. With the fall of the Western Empire, Trogir and other old Roman cities in Dalmatia became part of a special military province (temat) of the Byzantine Empire.

In the chaos of the early Middle Ages, the Roman natives, with no strong Byzantine garisons, lived in fear of attacks by the barbarian nations, who unprotected, prayed to the new Christian God. Due to its islet location between the mainland and the island of Ciovo, the town did not meet the same tragic fate of Salona, which was destroyed during an attack by the Avars and Slavs. From the 7th Century, Croatian princes built their castles with the endowment church of St. Martha, not far from Trogir, in Biaci. Gradually, the Croats entered the town developing certain *Roman-Croatian* ethnic symbiosis. After the great conquests of Carlemagne in 1814, the Dalmatian cities



including Trogir, came under Frankish rule. The document on the foundation of the Monastery of St. Doimus (1064.) contains only Croatian national names. Croatian princes and kings after stayed in Trogir which enjoyed their protection and privileges. After the fall of the Croatian national dynasty, due to the diplomatic skills of the Bishop Ivan Orsini (1111.) the citizens of Trogir opened the city gates to the Hungarian King Koloman who was also crowned the “King of Croatia” in Biograd Na Moru.

A difficult period for Trogir was the invasion of the Mongolians in pursuit of the Hungarian-Croatian King Bela IV who in 1242, rescued himself by escaping to the safety of Trogir. There he had an opportunity to admire recently finished “Portal of Master Radovan”, a masterpiece of Middle Age Croatian Art.

In the Middle Ages the town was ruled by the Statute (the oldest preserved one from 1322). Members of the Great Council who were elected by the Small Council and the Secret Council, would discuss the important security issues of the city. A pharmacy in Trogir is mentioned already in 1271, as the first one in this part of Europe. It shows the level of economic civilizational achievements of the free Middle Ages Commune with widespread commercial and cultural relationships throughout the Mediterranean and Europe. In June 1420, after a bloody battle, the Venetian troops of Captain Petar Loredano entered Trogir. All the city’s liberties were abolished, and Venice took all the power which lasted till the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. After the brotherhoods were dissolved, the citizens united in what was known as citizens’ assemblies through which they tried to restrain the despotism of the governor and nobles.

Many distinguished inhabitants of Trogir fled from their city. Among them was Petar Berislavic, who later became Viceroy (Ban) of Croatia and Bishop of Zagreb. He died by a Turkish sword in 1520, whilst deceived and exhausted by heavy fighting for the freedom of Croatia. The majority of nobles studied in Italian cities where they got humanistic education. Among them was Ivan Lucius-Lucic, the father of modern Croatian historiography.

Turkish devastation in the vicinity of Trogir from the 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards completely destroyed the town from an economic point of view. At the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century the Venetian Republic was abolished. During the Napoleonic wars from



1806-1814, Trogir was annexed to the Illyrian provinces under Marshal Marmont. After Napoleon’s military defeat, Trogir became a part of Austria-Hungary. In 1867, with the support of Bishop Strossmayer, the National Library was founded and became the focal point of national renaissance. Twenty years later after long political struggles with an Italian oriented population demanding autonomy, the commune of Trogir passed into Croatian hands. With the fall of the Austrian Empire after World War I in 1918, Trogir joined the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians. General dissatisfaction and stagnation was gradually increasing. In April 1941, Italy occupied Trogir without resistance and in 1943, a one-year German occupation of Trogir began. Trogir gained its freedom at the end of 1944, after numerous victims and a destroyed economy. The period of economical development, particularly shipbuilding and tourism, followed, together with the increase of life standards of the citizens. However, the narrowness of the national awareness and democratic freedoms in South-Slavic Federation caused a great discontent from the citizens.

After the first democratic elections, which were held in 1990 by general plebiscitery of the Croatians for a free and independent state of Croatia, Trogir has acted as the foundation for the freedom of the Croatian people and the involvement of Croatia in European civilizational and economic prosperity.



*Radovan Portal (1240 AD)*



*Cathedral: 13<sup>th</sup> century*



## **HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL MONUMENTS AND FAMOUS WORKS OF ART**

The old town core was formed between the 13th and 15th century inside the defence wall that was restored by Venice in the 15th century. Two forts were added during this time that are still preserved, "Citadel Kamerlengo", and "The Tower of St. Mark". The Kamerlengo Citadel, that was used to connect with the city walls, is located on the south western part of the island. Its present shape was developed in the 15th century. Further to the south is the tower of St. Mark, which originates from the 15th century, and between the tower and the citadel, there is a gloriet built in the style of classicism, from the time of the French occupation. In the part of the town that developed on Ciovo there are a few interesting small churches. The older, eastern part of the town has developed around the main square with the cathedral. The western part, Pasika, was built later. In the past, the town was one of the cultural centres of Dalmatia. In the 13th century Master Radovan worked there, and in the 15th century a plethora of famous sculptors, architects, builders, humanists and historians (Ivan Lucius) were synonymous with Dalmatia. The Radovan Portal finished in 1240, is a monumental and perhaps unique work of this great Croatian artist, of whom the inscription on the base of the lunette says he is "the best of all in this artisanship".

The entrance into the town from the north is through the 17<sup>th</sup> century renaissance town gates which support the sculpture of Blessed Ivan Ursini, the patron saint of the town. On the main square there is the cathedral from the 13th - 15th century which is characteristic of both Romanesque and Gothic styles. The most important part of the cathedral, and the most valuable work of the Romanesque sculpture in Dalmatia is the portal of Master Radovan from 1240. The sculpture of St. Lovro and triangular gable were added to it in the 14th century. Within the cathedral there is also hosted, the baptistery which originates from 1464, along with the most important preserved work of the sculptor Andrija Alesi; octagonal stone pulpit from the 13th century, Gothic chorus benches, ciborium from the 14th century, paintings of local and Italian masters, Gothic Chapel of St. Jeronim from 1438, and chapel of the Blessed Ivan Ursini, the most beautiful renaissance monument in Dalmatia, which is the work of Nikola Firentinac from the 15th century. The most beautiful objects from the treasury are embroideries, ivory Gothic triptych, and medieval illuminated codices.



Located within the square there is the town loggia from the 15th century, clock tower, and the small church of St. Sebastijan that was built in the renaissance style. The small, early medieval church of St. Barbara, from the 9th - 10th century, is located behind the loggia, St. Barbara is the oldest church in Trogir. The square is closed by the Cipiko Palace. Opposite to the Palace is the town hall, which originates from the 15th century. The renaissance church of St. John the Baptist from the 13th century, with remains of the medieval frescos and the tomb of the Cipiko family, is located on the coast. Further down the coast is part of the preserved defence walls along with the tower and renaissance town gates from 1593.





*Aerial photograph: Birds eye view of the town*

The importance of Trogir as a fieldsite for this study once more lies in its usage by the indigenous subject as one of the many archaeological tools utilised as proof of the non-Yugoslav origins of the Croatian people. The alignment with the Venetian (non Yugoslav) self in this context acts as a support mechanism to post-civil-war beliefs. The visitors to Trogir range from busy locals going about their day-to-day business,



carefree individuals indulging in the budding cafe culture to tourists taking frenzied snapshots whilst consuming a modern, post-war Croatian perspective of local heritage. It is worthwhile to note that the majority of visitors to Trogir are locals as the site is not a major tourist destination. Participants were selected and recruited upon the island on the grounds of the intensity of interest they demonstrated towards the representations of heritage on display.



## ZAGREB: The Art Pavilion



### **THE ART PAVILION IN ZAGREB**

**1898 - 1998**

The history of the Art Pavilion in Zagreb is in a sense also the history of fine arts of the current century in Croatia. It is the oldest exhibition hall situated on the Slavic south and the only building that has been purposely built for large, representative exhibitions to be staged within it. During its 100-year old existence almost all major exhibitions, which exceeded the framework (limits) of Zagreb with their magnitude, were held here.

The exhibitions of many groups, movements and trends have been held here. The foundations of the traditions of painting and sculptural modernity in Croatia have been fashioned here. Between two world wars everything that was most artistically progressive was brought together within the Pavilion. The plethora of artists who appeared here in that period, constitutes in fact, Croatian art and its cultural history.



After the end of WWII, almost all art events reflected in the exhibitions were held in the Pavilion, the place where all greater one-man exhibitions were structured. Together with the number of remarkable names from Croatian art history, exceptional names from other countries have appeared here. Croatian culture has never been closed nor exclusive, on the contrary, it had been a part of a multiethnic Yugoslavia and the world. The Art Pavilion in Zagreb was the place where great names from other countries were most seemly entertained. The need for an exhibition hall where large exhibitions of both artists and cultural importance can be held was felt in Zagreb throughout the last decade of the preceding century when art life started to develop more intensely. The primary idea and initiative for the construction of the Art Pavilion in Zagreb was conceived in 1895 by a painter, Vlaho Bukovac, the most remarkable persona in Zagreb's artistic and cultural life throughout the passing of time. In only a few years of his residence in Zagreb, Bukovac roused many initiatives like the building of first ateliers, the organization of one-man and group exhibitions and finally, the building and opening of a representative exhibition hall. The Art Pavilion in Zagreb. The possibility of constructing the Art Pavilion in Zagreb initially appeared during the preparations for the Millennium exhibitions in Budapest, whose gala opening was planned for 2<sup>nd</sup> May 1886. Hungary celebrated "the festivity of millennium", a millennium of its nationally constructive life. So Croatia and Slavonia, which were politically and juridically connected with Hungary, had to contribute actively to the exhibition. Persuaded by Bukovac, Croatian artists asked for their own separate montaged art pavilion and its iron framework to be transported to Zagreb after the exhibition. The firm Danubius constructed the art pavilion in Budapest according to the project of Hungarian architects Korb and Giergl. Following the closure of the exhibition, the iron framework of the Croatian pavilion was transported to Zagreb. The invitation for the building of the Art Pavilion in Zagreb was officially published and Viennese architects Hellmer and Fellmer charged with developing the pavilion.

The construction work was performed by two building contractors from Zagreb, Honigsberg and M. Lenuci. During 1897 and 1898, the building of the Art Pavilion in Zagreb was completed and the building itself was ceremoniously opened on 15<sup>th</sup> December 1898, with the representative exhibition called Croatian salon. One of Zagreb's most beautiful downtown ambients was deliberately planned and



horticulturally rounded off in a “green horse-shoe”. The Pavilion in Zagreb has magnificently grown into its environment and become an active participant of creative integrity. Over the last two and a half decades, the Art Pavilion executed its fundamental function in the presentation and valorization of characteristic courses and contributions to the Yugoslav national tradition and ethnic sense of identity. The Art Pavilion publishes various texts which are utilised in the national curriculum. For their scholarly and meticulous, solid elaboration, together with a critical approach to certain subject-matter, some of the catalogues published by the Art Pavilion in Zagreb have become compulsory text-books for art history students at Zagreb University. In the forthcoming period, the institution kept pleading for continual and meticulous observation and elaboration of the most prominent individuals and events of Croatian arts, both past and present. Lea Ukraincik, the Directress of the Pavilion suggests that a number of unexplored chapters of Croatian ancient heritage and more modern art production is what is left, together with certain names that deserve scientific elaboration and whose work is still unexplored and has not yet been critically evaluated. All this is possible, because this place has its own specific role in Zagreb’s cultural environment, which is why the Art Pavilion in Zagreb has become a central place and intersection of large, fine art events within Croatian art, throughout its history and existence.

The importance of the Arts Pavilion as a fieldsite for this study lies in its usage by the indigenous subjects as one of the many heritage outlets utilised as proof of the non-Yugoslav origins of the Croatian people. The alignment with the non Yugoslav self in this context, once again acts as re-confirmation to a plethora of post-civil-war beliefs regarding Croatian heritage. The visitors to the Arts Pavilion range from heritage conscious locals, youngsters on school-trips, to tourists interested in consuming a modern, post-war Croatian perspective of local heritage. Participants were selected and recruited at random within the pavilion, the sole facet utilised to single out participants was the intensity of interest that they demonstrated towards the representations of heritage on display.

The subsequent chapter aims to address and present the findings of the research, it begins with an optical model which develops an initial six sub categories of behaviour



related to War and Identity Reconstruction, Paranoid Schizophrenia, Manipulation of the Past, Loss of Power and Control, Nostalgia and Language and the Reconstruction of the Past. These sub-categories of behaviour are broken down (reduced) and explained and a final three explanatory categories of “Fragmented Self”, “Paraphrenic Self”, and “Enlightened Self”, which elucidate the behaviour of the post war heritage consumer in Croatia are explicated.



## **Chapter Six**

### **The findings**



## **CHAPTER 6**

### **The Findings of the Research**

#### **INTRODUCTION**

This chapter presents the development of theory which has emerged from the research process. I begin this chapter by examining the abstraction of early properties which have emerged from the initial reading of the data, demonstrating no relationships at this early point. The chapter continues this process by further developing the emergent properties into concepts which in turn combine to form the sub-categories of behaviour that have both meaning and significance. These sub-categories were developed through the extraction, amalgamation and prioritisation of the data. The key behavioural influences are compared, contrasted and located under three unifying explanatory categories of behaviour which are largely the product of reduction and resorting. Furthermore, these behavioural categories along with illustrative examples from all the data sets are located, contextualised and evaluated in the literature which informed the theoretical development.

This chapter will be presented in such a way as to reflect the following process. The starting point for analysis focuses on the emergent properties which are then sequentially linked to the emergent concepts. Examples which illustrate the development of the concepts are given through abstracts sourced from the interview data. These emergent concepts are utilised in order to develop the sub-categories of behaviour and the link between the concepts, sub categories and the theory is then evaluated with the use of optical illustrations. In Conclusion the explanatory categories of behaviour are introduced, “the Fragmented Self”, the “Paraphrenic Self”, and the “Enlightened Self”.

For the pupose of exposition, orientation and contextualisation, the literature on each is briefly discussed. The three categories of behaviour are then presented and analysed in terms of their relationship and fit with extant theory. Each influencing concept and sub-category is discussed seperately to allow for comparison and constrast of behavioural patterns.



The following part of the thesis initially examines a preliminary model of the research findings and the properties and concepts that have emerged from the data. Furthermore the next section expands on these concepts by breaking each one down and looking at their relation to theory. In order to provide support for the findings, extracts from the interview data were used throughout the findings section of the thesis.

| <b>Number</b> | <b>Name</b>        | <b>Sex</b> | <b>Age</b> | <b>Social Class</b> | <b>Occupation</b> | <b>Town</b> | <b>Prevailing Categorization</b> |
|---------------|--------------------|------------|------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------|----------------------------------|
| 001           | Snjezana Reich     | Female     | 42         | Upper               | Businesswoman     | Split       | Fragmented                       |
| 002           | Renata Andriyolich | Female     | 21         | Middle              | Student           | Trogir      | Fragmented                       |
| 003           | Ivana Shkrobitsa   | Female     | 18         | Lower               | Unemployed        | Trogir      | Fragmented                       |
| 004           | Duye Dorich        | Male       | 20         | Lower               | Musician          | Trogir      | Paraphrenic                      |
| 005           | Sanya Domich       | Female     | 34         | Middle              | Teacher           | Split       | Paraphrenic                      |
| 006           | Renata Shirovich   | Female     | 35         | Middle              | Defectologist     | Split       | Enlightened                      |
| 007           | Cane Dorilich      | Male       | 102        | Lower               | Retired Sailor    | Trogir      | Paraphrenic                      |
| 008           | Daniel Aluyevich   | Male       | 66         | Middle              | Electrician       | Split       | Enlightened                      |
| 009           | Vyekoslav Dokic    | Male       | 60         | Middle              | Waiter            | Split       | Paraphrenic                      |
| 010           | Danira Yeleska     | Female     | 22         | Middle              | Student           | Zagreb      | Fragmented                       |
| 011           | Antonia Pavichin   | Female     | 23         | Middle              | Student           | Trogir      | Enlightened                      |
| 012           | Tonchi             | Male       | 40         | Middle              | TV Presenter      | Solina      | Fragmented                       |



|            |                   |               |           |               |                   |               |                    |
|------------|-------------------|---------------|-----------|---------------|-------------------|---------------|--------------------|
|            | <b>Bibich</b>     |               |           |               |                   |               |                    |
| <b>013</b> | <b>Ivana</b>      | <b>Female</b> | <b>19</b> | <b>Middle</b> | <b>Technician</b> | <b>Trogir</b> | <b>Fragmented</b>  |
|            | <b>Franich</b>    |               |           |               |                   |               |                    |
| <b>014</b> | <b>Yure</b>       | <b>Male</b>   | <b>19</b> | <b>Lower</b>  | <b>Student</b>    | <b>Trogir</b> | <b>Fragmented</b>  |
|            | <b>Brikan</b>     |               |           |               |                   |               |                    |
| <b>015</b> | <b>Martina</b>    | <b>Female</b> | <b>19</b> | <b>Middle</b> | <b>Student</b>    | <b>Zagreb</b> | <b>Fragmented</b>  |
|            | <b>Zekovich</b>   |               |           |               |                   |               |                    |
| <b>016</b> | <b>Vanda</b>      | <b>Female</b> | <b>19</b> | <b>Upper</b>  | <b>Student</b>    | <b>Zagreb</b> | <b>Fragmented</b>  |
|            | <b>Yuranich</b>   |               |           |               |                   |               |                    |
| <b>017</b> | <b>Nina Baras</b> | <b>Female</b> | <b>19</b> | <b>Upper</b>  | <b>Student</b>    | <b>Zagreb</b> | <b>Fragmented</b>  |
| <b>018</b> | <b>Maria</b>      | <b>Female</b> | <b>19</b> | <b>Middle</b> | <b>Student</b>    | <b>Zagreb</b> | <b>Fragmented</b>  |
|            | <b>Kukech</b>     |               |           |               |                   |               |                    |
| <b>019</b> | <b>Julia</b>      | <b>Female</b> | <b>24</b> | <b>Lower</b>  | <b>Trader</b>     | <b>Trogir</b> | <b>Fragmented</b>  |
|            | <b>Batalia</b>    |               |           |               |                   |               |                    |
| <b>020</b> | <b>Emilia</b>     | <b>Female</b> | <b>22</b> | <b>Middle</b> | <b>Beautician</b> | <b>Trogir</b> | <b>Fragmented</b>  |
|            | <b>Vantich</b>    |               |           |               |                   |               |                    |
| <b>021</b> | <b>Ivona</b>      | <b>Female</b> | <b>18</b> | <b>Middle</b> | <b>Privately</b>  | <b>Trogir</b> | <b>Fragmented</b>  |
|            | <b>Pavichin</b>   |               |           |               | <b>employed</b>   |               |                    |
| <b>022</b> | <b>Suzanah</b>    | <b>Female</b> | <b>29</b> | <b>Middle</b> | <b>Tour Guide</b> | <b>Split</b>  | <b>Paraphrenic</b> |
|            | <b>Lilia</b>      |               |           |               |                   |               |                    |
| <b>023</b> | <b>Miroslav</b>   | <b>Male</b>   | <b>43</b> | <b>Lower</b>  | <b>Sailor</b>     | <b>Trogir</b> | <b>Paraphrenic</b> |
|            | <b>Pavichin</b>   |               |           |               |                   |               |                    |
| <b>024</b> | <b>Ante</b>       | <b>Male</b>   | <b>21</b> | <b>Upper</b>  | <b>Student</b>    | <b>Split</b>  | <b>Paraphrenic</b> |
|            | <b>Franich</b>    |               |           |               |                   |               |                    |
| <b>025</b> | <b>Nicola</b>     | <b>Male</b>   | <b>21</b> | <b>Middle</b> | <b>Sailor</b>     | <b>Trogir</b> | <b>Paraphrenic</b> |
|            | <b>Santich</b>    |               |           |               |                   |               |                    |
| <b>026</b> | <b>Mario</b>      | <b>Male</b>   | <b>20</b> | <b>Middle</b> | <b>Student</b>    | <b>Trogir</b> | <b>Fragmented</b>  |
|            | <b>Pavichin</b>   |               |           |               |                   |               |                    |
| <b>027</b> | <b>Dea Balich</b> | <b>Female</b> | <b>18</b> | <b>Upper</b>  | <b>Dental</b>     | <b>Split</b>  | <b>Fragmented</b>  |
|            |                   |               |           |               | <b>Technician</b> |               |                    |
| <b>028</b> | <b>Marino</b>     | <b>Male</b>   | <b>30</b> | <b>Upper</b>  | <b>Medical</b>    | <b>Trogir</b> | <b>Fragmented</b>  |
|            | <b>Kuznainich</b> |               |           |               | <b>Technician</b> |               |                    |
| <b>029</b> | <b>Mihail</b>     | <b>Male</b>   | <b>20</b> | <b>Lower</b>  | <b>Mechanic</b>   | <b>Trogir</b> | <b>Fragmented</b>  |



|            |                    |               |           |               |                   |               |                    |
|------------|--------------------|---------------|-----------|---------------|-------------------|---------------|--------------------|
|            | <b>Pavichin</b>    |               |           |               |                   |               |                    |
| <b>030</b> | <b>Marino</b>      | <b>Male</b>   | <b>21</b> | <b>Lower</b>  | <b>Waitress</b>   | <b>Trogir</b> | <b>Fragmented</b>  |
|            | <b>Bavich</b>      |               |           |               |                   |               |                    |
| <b>031</b> | <b>Petar Nakir</b> | <b>Male</b>   | <b>20</b> | <b>Lower</b>  | <b>Student</b>    | <b>Split</b>  | <b>Paraphrenic</b> |
| <b>032</b> | <b>Marin</b>       | <b>Male</b>   | <b>24</b> | <b>Lower</b>  | <b>Mechanic</b>   | <b>Trogir</b> | <b>Fragmented</b>  |
|            | <b>Bolich</b>      |               |           |               |                   |               |                    |
| <b>033</b> | <b>Tihana</b>      | <b>Female</b> | <b>24</b> | <b>Lower</b>  | <b>Student</b>    | <b>Split</b>  | <b>Fragmented</b>  |
|            | <b>Dorich</b>      |               |           |               |                   |               |                    |
| <b>034</b> | <b>Daria</b>       | <b>Female</b> | <b>41</b> | <b>Upper</b>  | <b>Economist</b>  | <b>Split</b>  | <b>Fragmented</b>  |
|            | <b>Ljubich</b>     |               |           |               |                   |               |                    |
| <b>035</b> | <b>Marin</b>       | <b>Male</b>   | <b>26</b> | <b>Lower</b>  | <b>Waiter</b>     | <b>Trogir</b> | <b>Fragmented</b>  |
|            | <b>Balich</b>      |               |           |               |                   |               |                    |
| <b>036</b> | <b>Maya</b>        | <b>Female</b> | <b>43</b> | <b>Middle</b> | <b>Techer</b>     | <b>Trogir</b> | <b>Enlightened</b> |
|            | <b>Rogulich</b>    |               |           |               |                   |               |                    |
| <b>037</b> | <b>Joshko</b>      | <b>Male</b>   | <b>18</b> | <b>Middle</b> | <b>Student</b>    | <b>Trogir</b> | <b>Fragmented</b>  |
|            | <b>Zubichich</b>   |               |           |               |                   |               |                    |
| <b>038</b> | <b>Josip</b>       | <b>Male</b>   | <b>27</b> | <b>Middle</b> | <b>Technician</b> | <b>Split</b>  | <b>Enlightened</b> |
|            | <b>Svalina</b>     |               |           |               |                   |               |                    |
| <b>039</b> | <b>Ivan Pijuk</b>  | <b>Male</b>   | <b>20</b> | <b>Lower</b>  | <b>Student</b>    | <b>Split</b>  | <b>Fragmented</b>  |
| <b>040</b> | <b>Mile Dorich</b> | <b>Male</b>   | <b>50</b> | <b>Lower</b>  | <b>Sailor</b>     | <b>Trogir</b> | <b>Paraphrenic</b> |
| <b>041</b> | <b>Ivana Hrga</b>  | <b>Female</b> | <b>18</b> | <b>Lower</b>  | <b>Student</b>    | <b>Split</b>  | <b>Fragmented</b>  |
| <b>042</b> | <b>Adel Koso</b>   | <b>Male</b>   | <b>19</b> | <b>Lower</b>  | <b>Painter</b>    | <b>Split</b>  | <b>Paraphrenic</b> |
| <b>043</b> | <b>Christian</b>   | <b>Male</b>   | <b>24</b> | <b>Lower</b>  | <b>Unemployed</b> | <b>Trogir</b> | <b>Paraphrenic</b> |
|            | <b>Chuk</b>        |               |           |               |                   |               |                    |

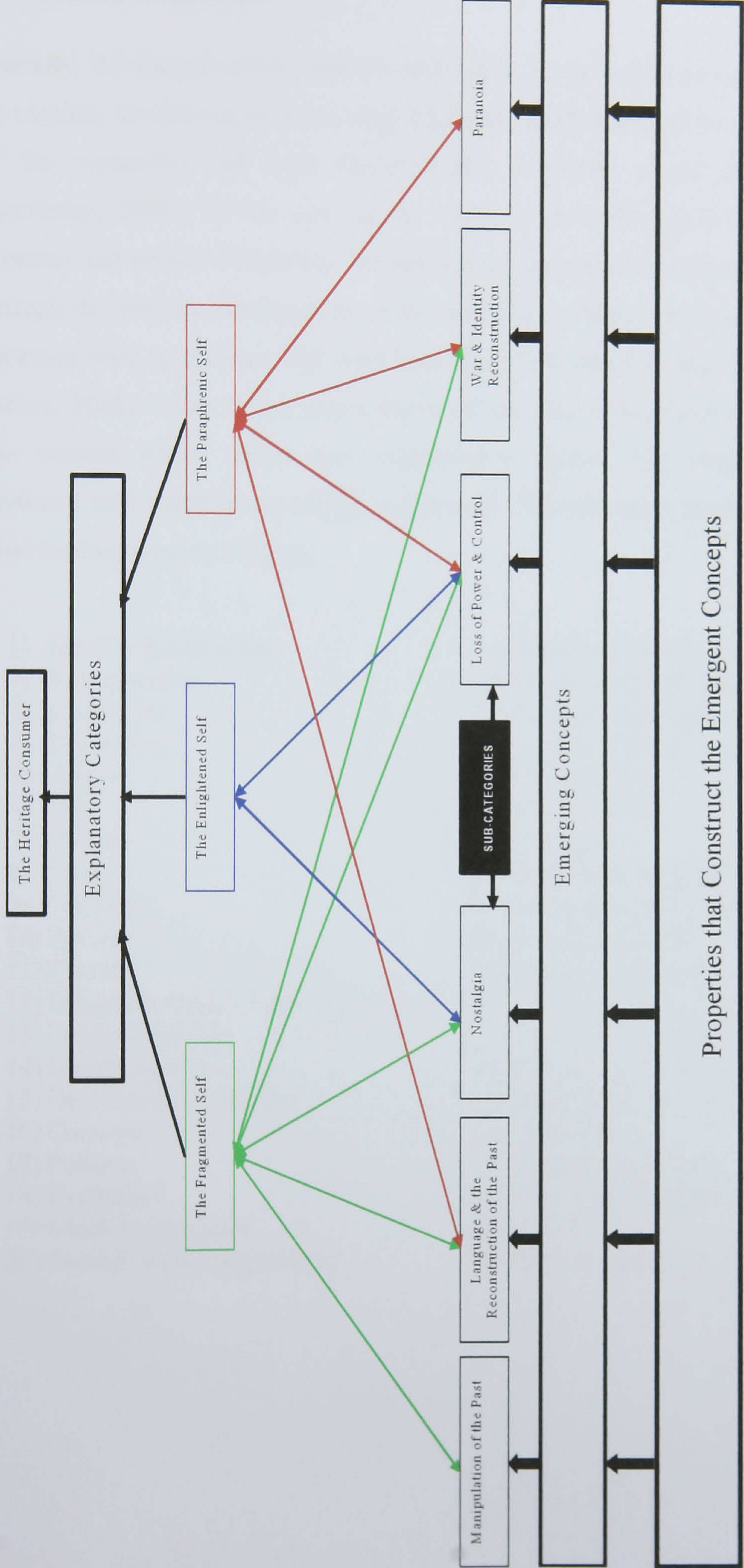
The sample of participants consisted of 21 Females and 22 Males, 7 of the participants came from an upper class background 19 were middle class and 17 were from a lower socio economic grouping. Fifteen of the participants came from Split, Twenty-two from Trogir, five from Zagreb and one from Solin (due to authority prohibition of the work).

The findings of the study thus far have influenced the conception of a preliminary model which has arisen from an initial descriptive, and ultimately interpretive analysis of the data which has in turn led to theory building. The model is based upon three explanatory



categories of Heritage Consumption in Croatia, each of which is made up of a number of interrelating themes and properties and sub-categories.







## **Emerging Properties**

Normally, the immediately collected information is not instantaneously available for analysis, but requires an amount of processing since raw field notes can be indecipherable to anyone but the researcher and must be corrected, extended, edited and typed up (Miles & Huberman, 2000). In the case of my research the audiotapes needed to be transcribed, corrected and edited. Following the process of transcription data analysis had commenced. Through the primary interrogation of the data a set of forty initial properties emerged. These properties were quite basic and were conceived from the first reading of the data (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Upon closer examination of the data it was realized that a few themes had been omitted whilst others were repetitive in nature. The emergent properties in turn developed into thirty-three emerging concepts. The emergent properties encountered in the initial reading were as follows,

- |                                 |   |
|---------------------------------|---|
| 1) Identity Sanitization        | 21) Needing liberation                      |
| 2) Manipulation                 | 22) Unsatisfied with past and present       |
| 3) Constraint                   | 23) Loss of identity/Searching for identity |
| 4) Confusion                    | 24) Seeking distinct identity               |
| 5) Anger                        | 25) Humiliation                             |
| 6) War                          | 26) Submission                              |
| 7) Politics                     | 27) Revenge                                 |
| 8) Media                        | 28) Reconstructing the self                 |
| 9) Nostalgia                    | 29) Searching for an identity               |
| 10) Power                       | 30) Needing identity                        |
| 11) Control                     | 31) Ethnic superiority                      |
| 12) Disappointment in present   | 32) Reinforcement                           |
| 13) Longing for past            | 33) Disassociation with past                |
| 14) Unsatisfaction              | 34) Delusional jealousy                     |
| 15) Dichotomy in identity       | 35) Unfocused anxiety                       |
| 16) Corruption                  | 36) Paranoia                                |
| 17) Politics                    | 37) Argumentativeness                       |
| 18) Exclusion                   | 38) Delusions of persecution                |
| 19) Clash in identities         | 39) Aloofness                               |
| 20) Former sanitization of past | 40) Current sanitization of past            |



## **Emerging Concepts**

Following the primary interrogation/reduction of the data, the potential universe of the data was further reduced into the following themes/concepts, which were in turn clustered into the six sub-categories of behaviour (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). The interpretive interrogation of the data through the continuous data reduction process have lead to the emergence of thirty concepts which have in turn developed into six sub-categories of behaviour, these in turn rationalize the effects of heritage consumption upon the post war consumer in Croatia (Miles & Huberman, 1984; Holloway & Wheeler, 1996). The emergent concepts that emerged from the data are a reflection of the voices of the participants and aid in the development of the “emic” perspective (Haris, 1976), the emergent concepts are as follows (For an in-depth analysis of the emergent concepts refer to Appendix 4):

1. Severing the links of a common Yugoslav identity
2. Disappointment in the past
3. Disappointment in the present
4. Need for a convenient and acceptable past.
5. The need for a separate and distinct identity
6. Reinforcing a new identity
7. Belief in the superiority of the new identity
8. Yugo nostalgia
9. Acceptance of a common Yugoslav identity
10. Croat exclusion from a common Yugoslav identity
11. Loss of Power & Control
12. Belief in authenticity of site
13. Belief in media manipulation of post war identity
14. Government sanitization of a post war identity
15. Belief in Government and media's manipulation of post war identity
16. Identity Sanitization policies of the former regime
17. Pride in the new identity
18. A pre-war clash of identities
19. Need for liberation/ independence
20. Linking post war Croatia to Western culture
21. Anger & aggression
22. Paranoia
23. Post war Manipulation of the Croatian language
24. Pre war manipulation of the Croatian language
25. A corrupt present
26. A corrupt past
27. Pre war constraints to Croatian heritage
28. Justifying the new language



- 29. Current governments sanitization of the past
- 30. Former governments sanitization of the past

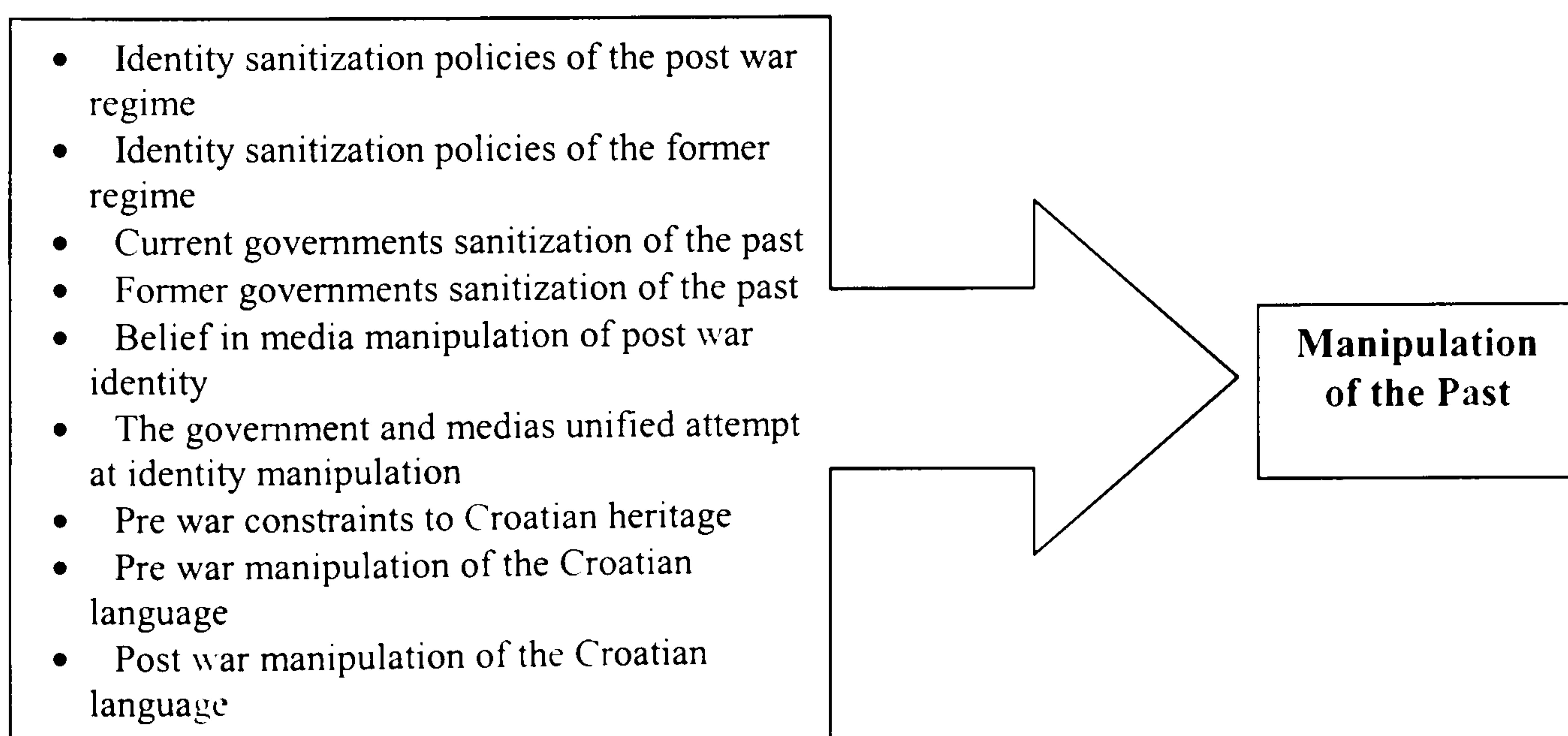
## **Emerging Sub-Categories**

The further interrogation of the data and the grouping/reduction of the preceding concepts have led to the development of six interrelated sub-categories of behaviour which are linked with the Manipulation of the Past, Nostalgia, Loss of Power and Control, Language and the Reconstruction of the Past, War & Identity Reconstruction and Paranoia (Holloway & Wheeler, 1996). The emergent concepts, which constructed each of the following emergent sub-categories will be further expanded and their relationship to each other at sub-category level, will be illustrated.

### **Emergent Sub-Categories and their relation to theory**

#### **1. Explanatory sub-category – Manipulation of the Past**

One of the most prominent group of concepts emerging from the analysis of the data are associated with the projected manipulation and mutation of the Croatian past. The emerging concepts underlying this explanatory sub-category are as follows:





Following the end of the civil war in the former Yugoslavia, Denitch (1996) states that the intelligencia betrayed their vocations whilst undertaking a futile attempt in rewriting the past in order to offer the members of the neouvou Croatian society a convenient and acceptable past. The real treason of the intellectuals in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union as Denitch (1996) states is the “betrayal of the prospects for a worldly universalist democratic empire by wallowing in self indulgent nationalism” (Denitch, 1996: p14).

### Identity sanitization policies of the post war regime

The most important role of the ‘awakeners’ (politicians and intelligentsia) according to Takach (1996) is to make the members of a neouvou community aware of their distinctive identity. The famous phrase of Massimo d’ Azeglio “we have made Italy, now we have to make Italians” did not mean that Italians were to be constructed. Their transformation into nationally conscious citizens was accomplished by deliberate ideological engineering in which particular roles and beliefs were ascribed by the state educational systems and political mobilization. Two very potent examples of ideological engineering of the past were put forward by the following informants, both of which strongly associate the role of the post war regime in the deliberate reprogramming of the past via the creation of particular roles and beliefs through the usage of the state educational system,

*Renata Andriyolich, Interview # 2: When I was at school I had to learn about the Partisans and the Russians but now my sister does not know anything about all that, she only learns about the civil war, the HDZ and basically whatever the government thinks that we should know.*

*Reny Shirovich, Interview # 6 As Croats? ... Heritage? .... Well normally people don’t feel this and don’t think about this, I believe this is just a political tool if you like, utilised in order to spark off hatred..*

*I work within an educational establishment so I have to do this ... it is part of my job, teaching heritage I mean, I work with this daily and unfortunately new things keep surfacing especially the atrocities committed by the partisans during the end of the second world war, we just now are beginning to uncover the truth ... I remember I used to learn completely different things at school about the partisans ... the Blaiburg massacre ... all this was covered and idealised.*

### Identity sanitization policies of the former regime



A typical feature of multi ethnic socialist states (such as the USSR, Yugoslavia and China) was the prominent role of the state in defining/sanitizing nationalities within its borders, and “in objectifying that identity through conferring nationality status, or contesting the groups ethnicity by refusing recognition” (Gladney, 1991). In the former Yugoslav multi-ethnic and socialist federal state “nationality politics” were one of the tools by which the state legitimised and strengthened its structure and thus its power. So while in the West, ethnic and national identities might be imagined and manipulated by individuals and communities, in the socialist regimes such as the former Yugoslavia it was the state that did the imagining,

*Maria Kukech, Interview # 18:” ...in the past we were not allowed to talk about our heritage and our heritage was replaced by Serbian heritage...”*

*Daniel Aluyevich, Interview # 8: “maybe it is because during the former regime we could not speak freely about what we lost and at that time we could not speak of Raditch, Ban Yelachich and all those Croatian Kings ... we couldn’t even whisper their names in fear of persecution ... we were ordered to forget all that, but the Serbs on the other hand had festivals to celebrate their kings ... if you were to start singing a song of Ban Yelachich then you would end up in jail, a Serb officer told my wife once “your heritage will end up in the scrapyard” their aim was to destroy the Croatian heritage because a Croat without heritage cannot breathe and that is the reason why we are all so engulfed within our heritage because it was forbidden “*

### Current government’s sanitization of the past

According to Wright, (1985) tradition and history are matters of how powerful institutions function to select values from the past and to mobilise them in contemporary practices. Essentially, cultural reproduction can influence collective memory and result in a particular sense of national and cultural identity. “Collective identity is based on the (selective) processes of memory, so that a given group recognises itself through its recollection of a common past” (Morley & Robbins, 1989, p14). Attempts to fix national memory and identity, and to map history onto territory are integral to the ideological rhetoric of nationalism, as the **current regime** in Croatia has pointed out (Edensor, 1997).

*Reny Shirovich, Interview # 6: “Victors throughout history have always dictated how heritage is depicted. He who won always altered the facts in order to suit him. So you see, heritage can never be authentic”*

*Julia Batalia, Interview # 19: “The government plays an active role in the distortion of our heritage and our past”*



Ivana Franich, Interview # 13: *"The government ... well it dictates heritage, that is were it all originates from. Their decisions together with media create a formidable weapon for the reinterpretation of historical facts"*

According to Hall (1992) many of the new nationalisms within the Balkans are guilty of striving towards a return to tradition, a tradition that recasts cultural identity as an unfolding essence, moving apparently without change from past to future. The plethora of the informants interviewed readily accepted this return to 'true' Croatian tradition as projected by the current regime and the cleansing of the post WWII Communist era, however some question the extremes reached in order to cleanse the cultural heritage of post civil war Croatia.

Renata Andriyolich, Interview # 2 *"Well I feel that there are actually less (heritage sites), lets see for example when I was younger they used to take us on excursions to Tito's house which was a museum, but now that house does not exist any more .. as a museum that is ... you see it is still there but nobody goes there any more ... it's just disgraceful. All statues and remnants of the second world war have been destroyed .. but why, why rewrite history"*

*Int: so Tito is a taboo subject.*

*"Yes he is but that is just a fiasco for us .. it is shameful .. if we are ashamed of our past then we do not have any future at all"*

### Former government's sanitization of the past

After the end of WWII the growth of interest in the past within post war Yugoslavia was forcefully expressed on behalf of the former regime through heritage sites, memorial statues of war heroes, the educational system and the cult of "historical" or "period piece" films, most of which concentrated upon the unification of the member states of the former Yugoslavia, the creation of the partisans and the final defeat of the German invader (Rosenstone, 1995). The historical film or drama has always been a powerful tool in the hands of the Great Marshal Tito and even academics now recognize that films have forced historians to "offer a new relationship to the world of the past" and to "revolutionize our notions of the past" (Rosenstone, 1995, pp 12-13),



*Tonchi Bibich, Interview # 12: "... lets say for example the Blaiburg massacre ... it did not exist in the previous regime but now it is accepted thus we can only assume that this has filtered down through the government"*

*Yure Brikan, Interview # 14: "Many statues that the former Yugoslav government believed represented Croatian Fascist past were removed, now they have all been replaced. The same thing happened in Zagreb with Ban Yelachich (Croatian King) he was removed from public view but now he has been returned"*

*Nina Baras, Interview # 17: "I think not because they are ..... I don't know, I know that we are a nation that always studied our heritage together with that of other nations, but when we were a member of the former Yugoslavia we did not study Croat heritage but instead they made us study Serb heritage. The Serbs had more power in the former regime, so much power that they even ensured that in school their heritage was to be studied and not ours"*

### Belief in media manipulation of post war identity

Povrzanovic (1993) states that the Croatian media may be fully conscious, partially and hazily aware, or wholly unconscious of what prompted them to alter the past and thus reinforce a post war sense of identity. Lowenthal (1985) claims that many such changes are unintended; others are undertaken to make a supposed legacy credible; relatively few are expressly sought. The more strenuously we build a desired past, the more we convince ourselves that things really were that way; what ought to have happened becomes what did happen (Lowenthal, 1985).

*Antonia Pavichin, Interview # 11: "These changes in the language were pushed into use by the media, they started using them and bit by bit we got used to these new words and started using them. This was not dictated to us ... there are a few words though that you must use"*

*INT: MUST?*

*"Yes you must ... well you would not be punished or fined if you didn't but you would be looked at strangely ..... eeem .... It is just expected of you."*

*Renata Andriyolich, Interview # 2: "Before we heard the Serbs news... everything was in Serbian. Croat TV at that time was very small ... now though things are worse ... now they lie to us more, much more than the Serbs ever did... it's just pure politics, it's just that before they were Serbs and now they are Croats ... it's just the politics of spectacle, show and lies..."*

### The government's and media's unified attempt at identity manipulation



Symbolically the state utilised the media to encourage the use of the Croatian coat of arms, a new flag and anthems, as well as the old “nationalistic songs” forbidden during the communist times (Povrzanovic, 1993) however because such symbolic aspects of Croatian identity were repressed for forty five years, their use exploded overnight caught up in the euphoria of independence and powerful reinforcement by the government and media. The authoritarian and populist imagery of the government controlled press, particularly the images and the language it uses in the cultivation of a discourse on nationhood and “race” have had an immense impact upon the individual subjects sense of identity within a post war Croatia (Fowler, 1991).

*Ivana Shkrobitsa, Interview # 3: “The media are controlled by the government, they only show us what the government want us to see...”*

*Ivana Franich, Interview # 13: “The government ... well it dictates heritage, that's where it all originates from. Their decisions together with media create a formidable weapon for the reinterpretation of historical facts...”*

*Martina Zekovich, Interview # 15: “...I believe that they have massively distorted our present through the use of our past...”*

### Pre war constraints to Croatian heritage

History has always been politically constrained in the former Yugoslavia (Phillips, 1998), yet in terms of the overwhelming political interest in the field following the end of WWII, the teaching and representation of heritage within the educational and societal sectors was particularly controversial, selective and only offered a one sided/manipulated view of the past. This was reflected in the constraint in teaching Croatian culture, language and history at schools and the prohibition of ethnic Croat festivals, which celebrated a once “exclusive” heritage.

*Nina Baras, Interview # 17: “...when we were a member of the former Yugoslavia we did not study Croat heritage but instead they made us study Serb heritage. The Serbs had more power in the former regime, so much power that they even ensured that in school their heritage was to be studied and not ours.”*

*Ivana Franich, Interview # 13: “During the old regime we lived a lot better but on the other hand people were not free, people could not say that they were Croat in fear of persecution by the authorities. People were happier from a materialistic point of view but spiritually things were catastrophic. Things are better now... people are poorer but they have their own nationality and identity.”*



### Pre war manipulation of the Croatian language

Krawchenko (1985) claims that in post WWII Yugoslavia, Croatian similarly to Ukrainian was forbidden in schools both as a language of instruction and as a subject in the hope that with time the national identity and heritage of the Croat and Ukrainian nation would melt within a cultural mixing pot and that these peripheral individual ethnic heritages would in some way be consumed and combine within the dominant ethnies to which they belonged to. This view was reinforced by many of the older participants, some of the younger informants reciprocated this view of a pre war manipulation of the Croat past/language;

*Daniel Aluyevich, Interview # 8: "We could not use our own words under the old regime and now these words have returned with a vengeance. After I was born Hitler rose to power and I lived for seven years under the Italian's and we had to learn Italian at school, it was unthinkable to utter a Croat word ..... and then I spent three years learning Italian in school ..... then came the Germans under which there were no schools because they used to bomb them, there was poverty and hunger all round .... Then came Yugoslavia and one had to learn Chirilitsa (Serbian written form) which was a core subject at all educational institutions, we had to learn their words for instance I say Bilo (white) and they say Byeilo .... And thus we never really had our own words. These Croatian words now are surfacing left right and centre, whether they are necessary or not"*

*Emilia Vantich, Interview # 20: "These new words are old Croat words tat have been brought back, after WWII War when we joined Yugoslavia our words were slowly phased out and eventually our children were not taught Croatian in school but Serbo-Croat so we were taught their language really and now everything is going back to normal."*

### Post war manipulation of the Croatian language

According to Takach (1996) the most significant role of the "awakeners" (politicians, intelligentsia and social elites) is to make the members of a new-born ethnos aware of their exclusive identity, such has been the effect of Dr. Tudgman on Croatia. Franjo Tudgman, once a hard core communist spurred on and literally manufactured the post-war Croatian national identity with the use of a highly sanitised form of the ancient Croatian language (Nadj, 1997) and a romanticised portrayal of the Croat past. It might be argued that Tudgman had attempted to re-engineer the Croat citizen and the future of the state with the use of a cleansed/manipulated perception of the Croatian past which solely concentrated on



highlighting differences between the Croats and Serbs and excluding the Serbs from Croatian history via a fabricated language and past. Nonetheless, the citizens of the new born Croat state are now unsure whether the new language is authentic or just another romanticised version of the past, fed to them by the government as a form of rebellion for the 50 years of communist domination. The vast majority of those interviewed were dissatisfied with the changes to the Croatian language, particularly the younger generation.

*Tonchi Bibich, Interview # 12: "The changes in the language have helped this nation feel like It truly exists ... its nice to have your own language and to know that it is a pillar of ones nationalism. It is important not to go too far though as I have told you previously."*

*Renata Andriyolich, Interview # 2: "Well from the beginning of the civil war us Croats must study the new Croatian language because we were not allowed to go on using the same language since it contained many Serbian words ... thus they changed everything into Croat... like lets say avion (aeroplane) was changed into zrakoplov... you see some stupidities that we never heard of before. You must understand that all this came from the government ... everything that was Serbian or fascist in the former regime is now a taboo subject."*

*Ivana Shkrobitsa, Interview # 3: "This is purely and simply government manipulation. They did this because they have not managed to accomplished anything that they promised so with the use of the language they are trying to cover up ... these word never existed, they want Croats to think that they are great heroes that are trying to bring back the original Coat language ... they do this because they are incapable to develop the country in the correct areas .. economically ... spiritually."*

As can be distinguished from the amalgamation of the preceding concepts of a manipulated and fragmented past, post war Croatia has become extremely Xenophobic, to the extent that even Marshall Tito the most prominent Croat of the 20<sup>th</sup> century has become a taboo subject together with the Yugoslavia he created. Almost all of the informants were aware of the fact that after the end of the Second World War the partisans attempted to cleanse Croatia of all its Ustashe ancestry in a hope to create a powerful new nation. However ensuing the end of the 1992-1996 civil war in an attempt at retaliation for fifty years of Communist control the authorities have destroyed all monuments that would remind the population of their link to the former Yugoslavia, and thus manipulated and fragmented the individual subjects concept of a sequential sense of ethnic past. Such actions serve to demonstrate the link between symbolic representations, societal control, and collective memory, as Raymond et al (1997) observe:

*When the imperative of nation-building is so strong, what results is not necessarily constructed on historical veracity but can often be an invented or 'imagined'*



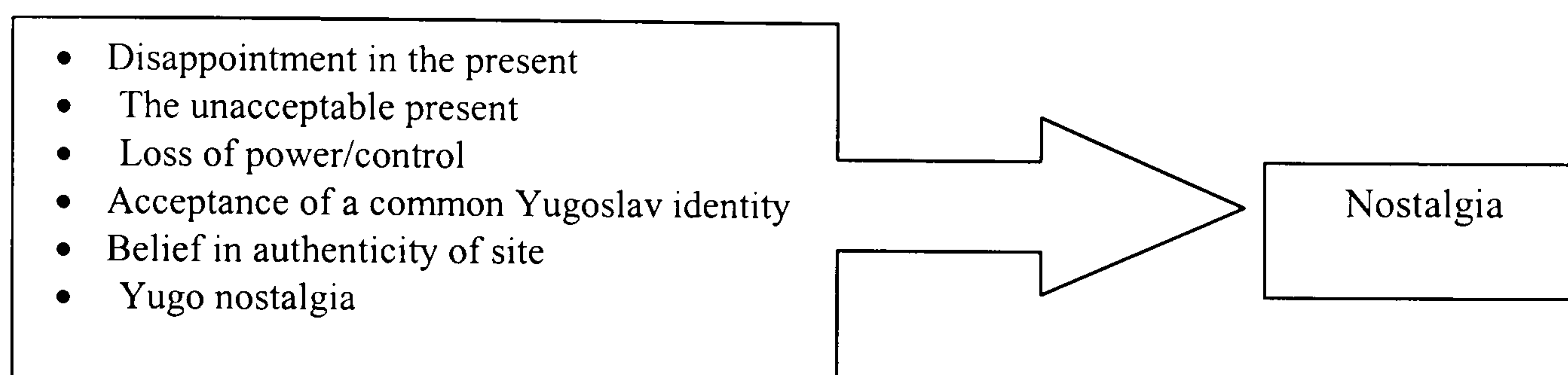
*community. As in the new nationalism of the developing world, so in Yugoslavia, nation building has shown its face also as a strategy of displacement or distraction.....memory and history, history and memory: as the break up of the former Yugoslavia illustrates, which shapes which is a moot point and will remain so in the never less than anguished pursuit of national identity.*

*Raymond et al, 1997, p 30*



## 2. Explanatory sub category - Nostalgia

A very commonly arising theme throughout the interviews was that of nostalgia, a longing for earlier times, financial prosperity and a social structure that respected and considered the working class.



Nostalgia is a Greek word which dates back to the seventeenth century, derived from the Greek *nostos* – return home and *algia* – a painful condition (a painful yearning to return home (Goulding, 1997)). Many writers on the subject of Nostalgia (Chase & Shaw, 1989; Davis, 1979; Belk, 1988; Lowenthal, 1989; Snyder, 1993; Stern, 1992; Tannock, 1995; Hirsch, 1992; Kaplan, 1987; Hertz, 1990; Goulding, 1997) believe that what occasions us to feel nostalgic must be triggered by experiences of the present, regardless of how much the ensuing nostalgia may derive from our memories of the past (Goulding, 1997). In the literature, nostalgia is described as a cultural phenomenon that tells us more about the present through the falsification of the past (Chase & Shaw, 1989). Nostalgic feelings are always infused with imputations of past beauty, and, may serve as a coping mechanism when times get hard (Davis, 1979). There is also agreement that nostalgia is deeply implicated in the political life of a people and in their historical sense of themselves (Davis, 1979; Kasinitz & Hillyard, 1995). According to Wright (1985) history is often redefined as the historical. Abstracted and re-deployed history seems to be purged of political tension and becomes a unifying spectacle. Furthermore, because talismans of the past are often ambiguous, and the experience of the past as offered by the media is often one sided, a positive connection may be made with the historical that is more a result of anxieties and fantasies than reality.



### Disappointment in the present

We all want more or other than what we have been left, the present is never enough. The bare remains of antiquity on the ground, in texts, and in our recollections seldom suffice the needs, let alone the dreams of the individual subject (Lowenthal 1985). As with memory, we reinterpret relics and records to make them more comprehensible, to justify present attitudes and actions, to underscore changes of faith. The unadulterated past is seldom sufficiently ancient or glorious; most heritages need ageing and augmenting. Individually and collectively we revise the inherited past to enhance self-esteem, to aggrandize property, to validate power (Lowenthal, 1985). Among the history hungry today, antiquing is a widespread avocation. Copies outnumber and often obscure actual survivals; newly minted places replicate nostalgically imagined scenes for the consumer of heritage that is disappointed in his/her present (Stevenson, 1965).

*Antonia Pavichin, Interview # 11":... I think that even though I am free I have a terrible standard of living."*

*Renata Shirovich, Interview # 6: "... many families ended up without fathers, children and many family members ...for them it must be terrible to see what is happening today, you see they and my husband included did not fight for this shameful situation in Croatia ..it is a pity. Things could have been so much better by now ..... I understand that we were at war and things must be bad for a while, but why is it that a small number of ex party member have become multi millionaires and the majority are suffering .. not being able to feed themselves and eating out of rubbish dumps."*

### The unacceptable present

The dysfunctional state of the post civil war Croatian social structure has led the contemporary citizen to develop a sentiment of shame towards the "unacceptable" present, this very sentiment can in time urge the subject to nostalgically modify/ cleanse/ purify or selectively perceive his/her past (Gallagher, 1999). Many participants talked about corruption and the emergence, disappearance and resurfacing of specific elements/personas of the past which are controversial to the new order.



Renata Andriyolich, Interview # 2: "Well I feel that there are actually less (heritage sites), lets see for example when I was younger they used to take us on excursions to Tito's house which was a museum, but now that house does not exist any more .. as a museum that is ... you see it is still there but nobody goes there any more ... it's just disgraceful. All statues and remnants of the second world war have been destroyed .. but why, why rewrite history."

*Int: so Tito is a taboo subject.*

*"Yes he is but that is just a fiasco for us .. it is shameful .. if we are ashamed of our past then we do not have any future at all."*

Antonia Pavichin, Interview # 11: "This is not a democracy except for on paper maybe ... democracy does not live here ... nobody here is completely free, there are those that are privileged though .. they are the ones that have connections in the party and they are Gods. "

Few informants enunciated that it is considered socially unacceptable to positively mention the former Yugoslavia in public since one would undertake the risk of being branded a 'Yugo nostalgic' which is a unacceptable term in contemporary Croatia.

Tonchi Bibich, Interview # 12 *If a man is to speak of those times today then he runs the danger of being labelled as a Yugo nostalgic so a I said before following the death of Tito things went downhill and Croatia had to get out of Yugoslavia.*

### Loss of power and control

We alter the past in order to nostalgically "improve" it - exaggerating aspects we find successful, virtuous, or beautiful, celebrating what we take pride in, playing down the ignoble, the ugly, the shameful (Lowenthal, 1985). Lowenthal's observation holds true for both pre and post civil war Croats, prior to the civil war the state cleansed Croatia of its heritage and language (Korac, 1996; Denitch, 1996). Subsequent to the end of the civil war, the post war regime cleansed Croatia of all remnants of the former Yugoslav ideology thus creating a sentiment relating to a loss of power and control within the post-civil-war subject.

Ivava Shkrobitcha, Interview # 3: *When asked about how she felt towards her past : "You mean the Serbian past ... well I don't really think about them..."*

Sanya Domich, Interview # 5: *"Well it's the same thing .. the media constantly distort things and lie .... But the Croats never had any power to make them stop doing this."*

Danira Yeleska, Interview # 10: *"...we are now an independent republic, we have gotten rid of the Yugoslav's and are no longer being robbed of our money from tourism"*



Tonchi Bibich, Interview # 12: *".... I think that it is good that we have brought back some Croat words .. I believe that the language used to be distorted form of the true language ..... it was "Serbified"'"*

Sanya Domich, Interview # 5: *"the politicians control the government and the government control the media ... and they all think alike and do exactly the same thing. Do you know that the head of Croatian telecommunication is a fucking Serb .. doesn't that tell you all you need to know? It's just a war of politics"*

### Acceptance of a common Yugoslav identity

The very conception of a state of "nostalgia" within a post Yugoslav perspective holds as a pre-requisite the acknowledgment and acceptance of a common Yugoslav identity and past. Numerous participants displayed a propensity in both accepting and welcoming their former implication within a Yugoslav past, and national identity.

Daniel Aluyevich, Interview # 8: *" O great Yugoslavia, we share the same language and almost all else ...."*

Antonia Pavichin, Interview # 11: *"....I personally would like to see Serbian remains if they signified the fact that our two nations lived as one...."*

Maria Kukech, Interview # 18: *"Well in relation to Serbs ..... we are connected through being Slavs and then through traditions and customs and to some extent I can say that the culture unites these two peoples..."*

### Belief in authenticity of site

Whilst on my primary field trip to Croatia I was astonished to ascertain that approximately half the participants interviewed believed in the authenticity of the site. Initially this concept puzzled me for some time until I grouped it within a general nostalgic category of behaviour within post civil war Croatia. The contemporary heritage visitor displays a vigorous "need" to believe that the images on display within post-war heritage sites are authentic due to a nostalgic longing for an unaltered/unfragmented/unmodified and linearly sequential past. The nostalgic belief in authenticity helps stabilize the concept of "self" in the individual subject,



Renata Andriyolich, Interview # 2: “...No everything has mostly stayed the same except .. maybe now the heritage industry is concentrating more on what the Croats have achieved..... Croat artists etc etc ....”

Sanya Domich, Interview # 5: “Yes they are ..and they show us how life used to be in other times ... the only differences is that they keep on digging up more and more relics ..”

Martina Zekovich, Interview # 15: “..... to myself personally these representations of my past seem authentic.”

## Yugo nostalgia

Nostalgia is more than just memory; it is memory with the pain taken away. It involves a bittersweet longing for an idealised past which no longer exists (Davis, 1979). Although a plethora of information concerning the former Yugoslavia has recently surfaced and the nations political and sociological turmoil has very much been at the forefront of public debate not all operational, political and social aspects of the former Yugoslav Federation were necessarily displeasing to the indigenous population. Many of the informants when asked about present day Croatia displayed powerful elements of Yugo nostalgia as can be seen from the above, and referred to a once superior financial situation and an incomparable public health system, many also discussed the rising levels of corruption among public servants and how money under the table seemed to be the only way to achieve upward mobility.

Michael Reich, Interview # 1 “The situation overall is unhealthy. We have one million unemployed people to look after, and one million pensioners, but on top of these, many employed people have not received their salary for up to seven months. Within the former communist regime when you were employed you had a job for life. Today there is great uncertainty. The vast majority do not live well, in fact they have a horrible standard of living”

Ivana Shkrobica, Interview # 3: “Financially they were much better, I prefer to call them the golden days ... ”

Martina Zekovich, Interview # 15: “Well if I am to be honest with you then I would have to say that we used to have a much better quality of life”

Antonia Pavichin, Interview # 11: “Well ... the past to me symbolises better days ... a better financial situation”



When questioned about the past most informants shared positive memories, which have been construed as Yugo nostalgia:

Renata Andriyolich, Interview # 2 “Well it was definitively the good old days.... Because I have so many positive memories of that time... I had a fabulous childhood.... I needed nothing. I was protected economically, sociologically ... in every way, it was a much better life”

Danira Yeleska, Interview # 10 “ *I used to have a better standard of life ...* ”

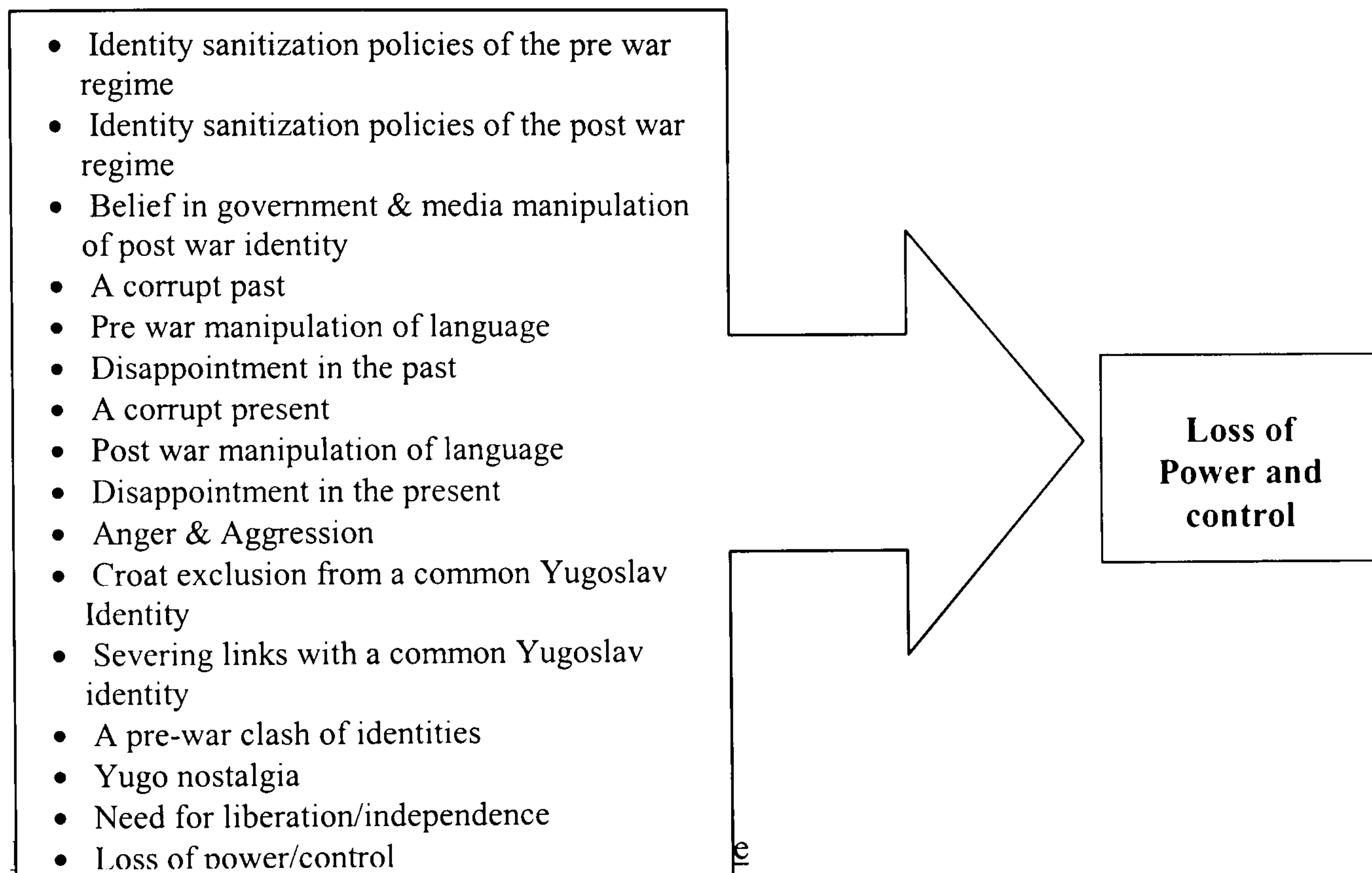
Yure Brikan, Interview # 14: “*Well I was born in 79 and whilst growing up I met quite a few Serbs an I can honestly say that we didn't have any problems with each other. In comparison to the past the present looks really bad ... there are great differences in the standard of life*”

Despite this longing for the ‘Good old days’ very few of the participants would even consider a reunification with Yugoslavia, even the thought of a confederation brought about negative reactions from most of the participants.



### 3. Explanatory sub category – Loss of Power and Control

One of the most predominant themes emerging from the research thus concentrates on how the manipulation of the past has effected the individual subjects conscious rational regarding Power and Control issues in post war Croatia, the ‘Loss of Power and Control’ sub-category has been formed by the following group of reoccurring concepts.



According to Mann (1986) power has four sources:

1. Military power, which is the organisation of physical force.
2. Economic power, which is achieved through the extraction, transformation and distribution of the objects of nature.
3. Political power, or state power, which is power wielded from a centre
4. Ideological or social power, which comes from the human need to find ultimate meaning in life, to share norms and values, and to participate in aesthetic and ritual practices.



“You have ideological power if you ‘monopolize a claim to meaning’, ‘monopolize norms’, and ‘monopolize ‘aesthetic/ritual practices’” (Mann, 1986 p22). According to Hobsbawm (1983) traditions are invented in order to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour. They can, however, be reinvented when they have served their purpose or lost their meaning. In much the same way, images of the past can be used as a means of maintaining power and control in the present. Many of the informants felt that the only reason Tudjman stayed alive until 1999 and had not been ‘lynched’ following the end of the civil war was because he realized the significance of history and heritage to the nation at a very sensitive stage. Tudjman had capitalised on the experience he gained whilst serving as Marshal Tito’s youngest General and set out to recreate what he had learnt and constitute a convenient and acceptable past for modern day Croatia, a past that has been cleansed of all Serb influences. As such Tudjman knew how to use power in order to maintain control of what had now become a Croatia cast in his own image and developed out of his own individual aspirations and prejudices. It was noted, for example, that all his speeches begin with how in 1996 the Croat nation crushed the third largest army on the planet. However, such exaggeration has not gone unchallenged. There was common consensus that both the former communist government and the new establishment had, and have, a strong interest in the manipulation of individual identity through the usage of heritage sites, both parties have utilized and distorted heritage for their own benefit. The Yugoslav government concentrated on the united Yugoslavia’s attempt to overthrow the Nazis, whilst the new Croatian government have changed the focus, concentrating only on Croatian aspects of the past.

Renata Andriyolich, Interview # 2: *“Well, because the government wanted to get into power, and they realised that under the old regime they would never do so, they had to wake something up in us that has been sleeping deep down, a need for our own government, freedom and independence. The only way they could do this was by taking out what we needed from history and shaping it a bit....basically it’s a new history for a new government”*

Ivana Shkrobitsa, Interview # 3: *“The government make sure that we are not aware of history which conflicts with their political ideologies. They try to hide aspects which would be harmful to them if we were to know. For instance, that the Ustashe were criminals, that they had concentration camps where they tortured and murdered people....and how we wanted genetic cleansing because we are a perfect people who don’t want to be soiled by foreign genes”*

Most informants claimed to be discontented in the way the former regime had dominated political, social life and sanitized the identity of the post war subject through the



commodification of the past, all informants though shared emotions of powerlessness and helplessness when asked about their past:

Maria Kukech, Interview # 18: " *...in the past we were not allowed to talk about our heritage and our heritage was replaced by Serbian heritage...* "

Daniel Aluyevich, Interview # 8: " *maybe it is because during the former regime we could not speak freely about what we lost and at that time we could not speak of Raditch, Ban Yelachich and all those Croatian Kings ... we couldn't even whisper their names in fear of persecution ... we were ordered to forget all that, but the Serbs on the other hand had festivals to celebrate their kings ... if you were to start singing a song of Ban Yelachich then you would end up in jail, a Serb officer told my wife once "your heritage will end up in the scrap yard" their aim was to destroy the Croatian heritage because a Croat without heritage cannot breathe and that is the reason why we are all so engulfed within our heritage because it was forbidden.* "

### Identity sanitization policies of the post war regime

Ethnicity is a sense of ethnic identity, which has been defined by De Vos as consisting of the "subjective, symbolic or emblematic use" by "a group of people ..... of any aspect of culture, in order to differentiate themselves from other groups" or as Brass (1991) claims the last phrase could be altered to read "in order to create internal cohesion and differentiate themselves from other groups". In the case of Croatia both definitions hold true, especially within the post war era. Within the former ex-Yugoslav republics the currently newly forming Croatian nation utilised the aspects of descent, birth and a sense of kinship in forming a fragmented and at times commodified sense of cultural differentiation to push forward the new ethnicities developing in the region and in order to set up a concrete building block for a post-war Croat identity.

Renata Andriyolich, Interview # 2: " *When I was at school I had to learn about the Partisans and the Russians but now my sister does not know anything about all that, she only learns about the civil war, the HDZ and basically whatever the government thinks that we should know..* "

Danira Yeleska, Interview # 10: " *Yes, I do think that due to the financial and economic difficulties currently experienced by the Croats, the media together with the government have perversely distorted heritage in order to offer the post modern consumer an acceptable past.* "

### Belief in government & media manipulation of post war identity



Some scholars (Takach, 1996; Krawchenko, 1985) claim that the emergence of modern nations is the result of a long historical evolution and not an “invention” of intellectuals. The fundamental role in the nation building process is played by the modern beurocratic state and not by the nationalist “awakeners”. Others such as Gellner (1991) claim that nations are the products of modern industrial society, though the contribution of the so-called national awakeners is significant and can never be underestimated. It is this significance though that has been vastly underestimated within the Yugoslav wars. It is at this stage where I choose to differ with my colleagues. Whilst I share in their views that a nation is a product of time and common heritage my research has shed light on the fact that it is these so called awakeners (elites) that have spurred on the reconstruction of the modern Baltic nations sense of identity to a dramatic extent. The most important role of the “awakeners” (politicians, intelligencia, media and social elites) is to enlighten the members of a neouvou ethnos as to their new found and distinctive identity (Takach, 1996). Many participants have indicated to an assumed government and media manipulation of a post war identity,

Tihana Dorich, Interview # 33: *“The media and the government .... the government and the media .... they are one and the same .... they control what we see and what we learn about”*

Marin Balich, Interview # 26: *“After the end of the civil war the government has taken over the media .... the media only broadcasts what the government allows them to, the past is projected as the government believes it was and not how it really used to be”*

### A corrupt past

Many participants strongly indicated to the belief that the Yugoslav past was corrupted at the very core of the political establishment, many discussed corruption in the military forces whilst most talked about the degree of corruption at both local and federal government level.

Vyekoslav Domich, Interview # 9: *“Do you know what their politics was .... Get married to a Croatian women ... this went for the officers especially since they had large salaries and had high privileges, they had their own stores as well were they traded in cheap foodstuffs, they especially went for the Dalmatian women and our women went for them because they had money, but today we see that this was a boomerang because they wanted it all. The Serbs did everything step by step .. they distorted our language, culture, took our jobs and finally stole our women. I have a wife ... she is from an island so we built our home on this island and raised a family .... This house next to mine ... it's a Serbs house he bought this land and built this house, he married one of our women and slowly assimilated himself within our culture. Do you realise by now what I am saying? ..... What they did was undertake an organised attempt to genetically cleanse the Croatian nation.”*



Daniel Aluyevich, Interview # 8: *"in Yugoslavia we were not communists like the Russians, not in the same way anyway .... It was a system of Socialism which would have been good if it was correctly and honestly run ...."*

### Pre war manipulation of language

In the former Yugoslavia the Serb controlled Yugoslav federal government was introduced to such demands as the right to study the Croatian heritage, language, and religion at public educational establishments within Croatia, all demands were denied though due to the fear of awakening a nationalism within the Croatian people.

Daniel Aluyevich, Interview # 8: *"We could not use our own words under the old regime and now these words have returned with a vengeance. After I was born Hitler rose to power and I lived for seven years under the Italian's and we had to learn Italian at school, it was unthinkable to utter a Croat word ..... and then I spent three years learning Italian in school ..... then came the Germans under which there were no schools because they used to bomb them, there was poverty and hunger all round .... Then came Yugoslavia and one had to learn Chirilitsa (Serbian written form) which was a core subject at all educational institutions, we had to learn their words for instance I say Bilo (white) and they say Byeilo .... And thus we never really had our own words. These Croatian words now are surfacing left right and centre, whether they are necessary or not"*

Emilia Vantich, Interview # 20: *"These new words are old Croat words tat have been brought back, after the Second World War when we joined Yugoslavia our words were slowly faised out and eventually our children were not taught Croatian in school but SerboCroat so we were taught their language really and now everything is going back to normal."*

### Disappointment in the past

A sense of corruption of the past coupled with the pre war manipulation of the Croatian language have led the post-war consumer of heritage to adopt a disappointed stance towards a now highly fragmented and commodified ethnic past.

Vyekoslav Domich, Interview # 9: *"in the past whoever was in power lived well"*

Daniel Aluyevich, Interview # 8: *"I was in Germany a few times, I was there in order to gain experience and specialize in my job ... I was there every year from ten to fifteen days .... I would make so many Marks that I didn't know how to spend them, because everything was paid for and when I used to come back here I had such a feeling of disappointment which came from the pit of my stomach that all I wanted to do was to walk back, that is how it was."*



### A corrupt present

One of the most predominantly emergent concepts derived from all of the research field trips is related to the individual subjects belief in a corrupt present. Narratives relating to a fraudulent state within political representation and commodified cultural icons were exemplified by the participants. The belief in a corrupted present was existent within most of the interviews but overwhelmingly though within the narratives of the younger generation who proved to be more willing to cast blame on the contemporary state in post-war Croatia.

Martina Zekovich, Interview # 15: *"I believe that the media and the Government have massly distorted our present through the use of our past."*

Renata Shirovich, Interview # 6: *"Heritage has been remade and cleansed ... purified by the government just as it was at the end of the second world war ... I feel this is truly disgusting,"*

Antonia Pavichin, Interview # 11: *"This is not a democracy except for on paper maybe ... democracy does not live here ... nobody here is completely free, there are those that are privileged though .. they are the ones that have connections in the party and they are Gods. "*

### Post war manipulation of language

Matters of descent, birth and a sense of kinship become important to ethnic group members, for the methods of inclusion and exclusion into the group, and often involve explicit or tacit adoption of endogamy and exogamy (De Vos, 1991). Within the former Yugoslavia the currently newly forming ethnic identities utilised all the above aspects of cultural differentiation to push forward the new ethnicities developing in the region. The Croats even went as far as to create a new language in order to set a concrete building block for post-war Croat identity (Denitch, 1996).

Renata Andriyolich, Interview # 2: *"Well from the beginning of the civil war us Croats must study the new Croatian language because we were not allowed to go on using the same language since it contained many Serbian words ... thus they changed everything into Croat... like lets say avion (aeroplane) was changed into zrakoplov... you see some stupidities that we never heard of before. You must understand that all this came from the government ... everything that was Serbian or fascist in the former regime is now a taboo subject."*



Ivana Shkrobtsa, Interview # 3: *"This is purely and simply government manipulation. They did this because they have not managed to accomplished anything that they promised so with the use of the language they are trying to cover up ... these words never existed, they want Croats to think that they are great heroes that are trying to bring back the original Coat language ... they do this because they are incapable to develop the country in the correct areas .. economically ... spiritually."*

### Disappointment in the present

The belief in a corrupt present, coupled with a post-war manipulation of the traditional Serbo-Croat spoken form has lead the contemporary subject to display overt characteristics relating to the sentiment of "disappointment in the present".

Antonia Pavichin, Interview # 11:*"... I think that even though I am free I have a terrible standard of living."*

Renata Shirovich, Interview # 6: *"... many families ended up without fathers, children and many family members ...for them it must be terrible to see what is happening today, you see they and my husband included did not fight for this shameful situation in Croatia ..it is a pity. Things could have been so much better by now ..... I understand that we were at war and things must be bad for a while, but why is it that a small number of ex party member have become multi millionaires and the majority are suffering .. not being able to feed themselves and eating out of rubbish dumps."*

### Anger and aggression

Boylan (1990) discusses the cultural significance provided by heritage sites, and their role in answering such fundamental psychological questions as, who am I? and where do I come from? Within post-war Croatia the sequential conception of the self has been fragmented by a contemporary regime that selectively interprets the sequential time flux continuum whilst undertaking a premeditated attempt at reconstructing the post-modern Croatian subject. This very loss in a sequential and logically developmental conception of time and identity has consciously and subconsciously exasperated the contemporary subject. Many elder informants displayed overt characteristics of Anger and Aggression. This may relate to the actuality that these participants have experienced a second fragmentation (following WWII) within their individual understanding of personal and ethnic identity.

Vjekoslav Domic, Interview # 9: INT: *" how do you feel about that Serb church?"  
"It's not right! , it's on my land!!!"*



Cane Dorlich, Interview # 7: *"You turned this piece of shit on? Hey who the hell are you kidding turn this thing off!!! (still holding the Dictaphone he says) I am going to throw this damned thing into the water !!!!, turn it off!!!!"*

### Croat exclusion from a common Yugoslav identity

Following the death of the great Marshal, the Yugoslav government attempted to forge the identity of post Tito Yugoslavia in the image of the then dominant ethnic group, the Serbs. With time the phasing out of "other" ethnic dialects was initiated and the exclusion / prohibition of the teaching of the Croat ethnic culture and language in schools became a reality. I remember as a child growing up within the former Yugoslavia a plethora of statues and museum concentrating on Yugoslavia's unification during WWII, constantly reminiscing of the debt "we" the citizens owed to our fellow Yugoslav brothers and above all a sense of fear in calling ourselves Croats.

I can still recollect the forced change in language usage implemented by the federal system in Yugoslavia, we had to learn to speak correctly (or as the Serb majority did) and discontinue usage of old Croatian terms and phrases, this change in social policy infuriated people whilst subconsciously sustained even further fragmenting the Croat subject and thus reinforced the subjects conception of an exclusion from a common Yugoslav identity.

Snyejana Reich, Interview # 1: *"Well.. as I said that time between 1970 and 1990 in which it was very difficult to be a Croat.. a period were the public showing of the cross symbolised that you were a Croat and Ustashe .... "*

Danira Yeleska, Interview # 10: *"There was always nationalism that set apart these two nations ... "*

Tonchi Bibich, Interview # 12: *"There were many good things in the old regime but some bad things such as the stereotyping of the Croats to the Ustashe but what the hell ... even with my Serb friends we used to joke about this even though they sometimes called me HERKY (Croat), whenever they asked me where I came from I always use to say Croatia ... I was never ashamed of that"*

### Severing links of a common Yugoslav identity

Following the 1991 declaration of independence the state encouraged the members of the newly formed Croatia to make use of the Croatian coat of arms, a new flag and anthems, as



well as old “nationalistic” songs forbidden during communist times in order to enforce a severing of links with a common Yugoslav identity (Povrzanovic, 1993). Since such symbolic aspects of Croatian identity were repressed for forty-five years, their use exploded overnight caught up in the euphoria of independence (Povrzanovic, 1993).

Duye Dorich, Interview # 4 : *“Let them get rid of all of it ... Serbs are a different people ... they attacked us, they killed us”*

Ivana Shkrobitsa, Interview # 3: *“Well ... we belong to the west. We are more cultural whilst they are more aggressive, they just concentrate on obtaining what is not theirs whilst we on the other hand concentrate on developing what really belongs to us”*

### Pre war clash of identities

Some ethnic groups demand that corporate rights be conceded to the group as a whole, that they be given not just individual education opportunities on the same basis as others, but that they be given control over the public system of education in their areas of concentration so that they can teach the history, language, and culture of their group to their own children (Brass, 1991). The Yugoslav government by no means accepted this concept and attempted to forge the identity of post Tito Yugoslavia in the image of the then dominant ethnic group, the Serbs. With time the phasing out of “other” ethnic dialects was initiated and the exclusion / prohibition of the teaching of other ethnic cultures and languages in school became a reality, this marked the end of “Tito’s” Yugoslavia and the beginning of a pre civil war clash of identities.

Sanya Domich, Interview # 5: *“...I am talking about the media under the former regime, they just soiled the Croat paste by constantly reminding the people of the Ustashe and fascism in Croatia .. basically they created a false and negative impression of the Croat people during the second world war”*

Daniel Aluyevich, Interview # 8: *“... you see Croats are a people that strongly believe that tomorrow will be a better day, we are great optimists and that is what saves us. The Serbs by mentality though do not think that tomorrow will be a better day but they think that tomorrow we will live like nobody else because we will posses everything ... but a Croat doesn't think this way ... he wished to be left alone in his land, his house and his gardens ... he says let me be in piece so that I can live here, I am not interested what happens over there ...”*

### Yugo nostalgia



Many of the younger participants indicated a compelling sense of Yugo nostalgia concerning a formerly superior quality of life. Most of the observations related to a once superior economic situation and a weakened sense of power and control.

Danira Yeleska Interview # 10: *"I used to have a better standard of life ..."*

Julia Batalia, Interview # 19: *"I used to feel that all the members of the former Yugoslavia were my family..."*

Jure Brikan, Interview # 14: *"Well in comparison to the past the present looks really bad ... there are great differences in the standard of life"*

### Need for liberation/independence

During the 1991-1996 conflict in Croatia the indigenous populations longing for liberation/independence were outwardly projected by an colossal output of popular songs, documentary and art photos, paintings and poems dedicated to the struggle for freedom and independence (Povrzanovic, 1993).

Ivana Franich, Interview # 13: *"During the old regime we lived a lot better but on the other hand people were not free, people could not say that they were Croat in fear of persecution by the authorities."*

Yure Brikan, Interview # 14: *" There was always some form of instability within this region but the Croats always wanted their independence, so we never wanted to be a part of this. We lost our independence in the 13<sup>th</sup> century and always dreamed of independence .... Now we have it."*

Renata Andriyolich, Interview # 2: *"Well.... In our whole history we were never independent ... always under someone's control.... I think then came Tudjman who understood this and worked towards giving us our independence. This is a very deep need of the people.... To be Croats and nobody else.. I think that Tudjman did not have a hard time in convincing us to get out of Yugoslavia."*

Almost all the participants claimed that there have been changes to the heritage sites since the end of the civil war. These have included changes in the names of the roads around the sites from Serbian heroes of war to Croat personas of historical significance (mostly Ustashe and Roman Generals), and the destruction of communist symbols within the surrounding areas. Many also reported that all museums, which had the former Yugoslavia as a theme, were immediately shut down whilst those that still exist are purposely being neglected by the



government and heritage visitors. At the same time there has been an increase in spectacles, re-enactments and festivals depicting the misconstrued greatness of the former Ustashe fascists.

### Loss of power & control

Kong & Yeoh (1997) in their analysis of national identity, ritual and spectacle in Singapore, propose that 'spectacle' can be an effective means of social control. Impressions of triumph, achievement, and celebration enter the subconscious beyond the immediate experience. They suggest that such spectacles have a number of characteristics and consequences:

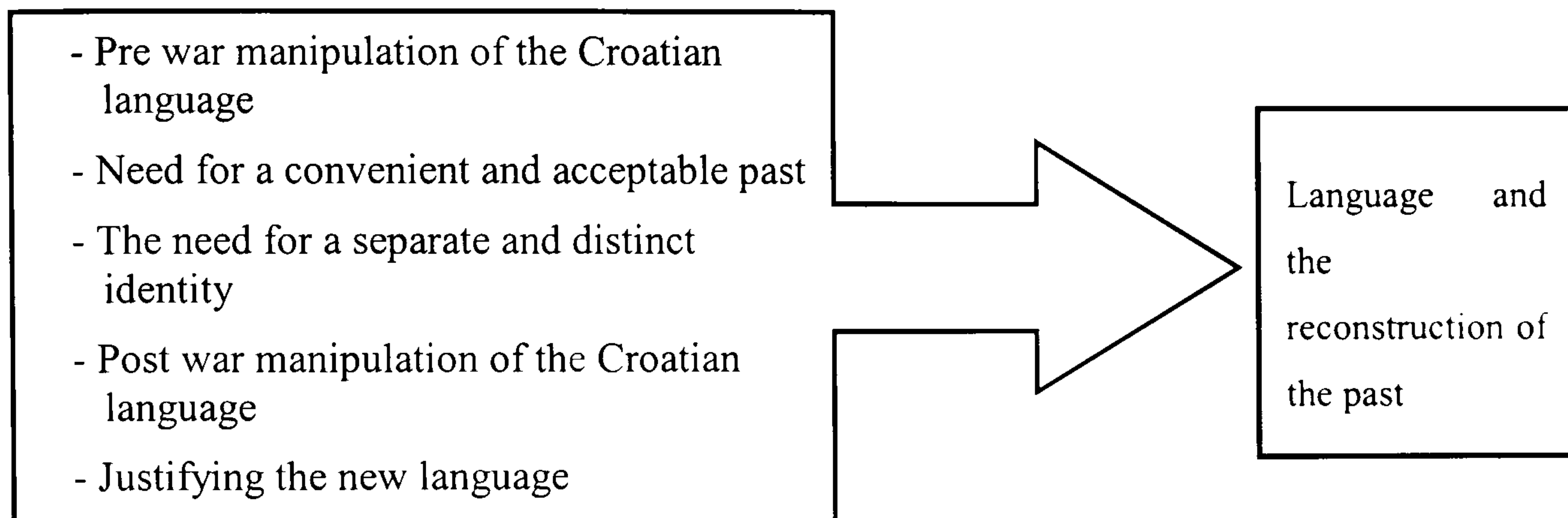
1. Collaboration in the form of civic ritual is time and place apart; it is away from everyday normal business.
2. Ritual offers the potential to scrutinise central values and axioms inherent in the culture in which it occurs.
3. Rituals reinforce group cohesion by emphasising the common attributes of citizenship or belonging.
4. Rituals sustain a sense of place and can contribute to collective memory.

In this way the celebration of Croatian victories, the exclusion of a Serbian and Communist history, and the emphasis on Croatian 'nationhood' has had the effect of entering the collective consciousness of the people, defining their sense of place in history in the process and above all reinforcing an overwhelming emotion relating to the Loss of Power and Control.



#### 4. Explanatory sub category – Language and the Reconstruction of the Past

Throughout the interrogation of the data a set of consistently re-occurring codes have led to the development of the ‘Language and the reconstruction of the past’ theme which entails the following:



##### Pre war manipulation of the Croatian language

When analysing the concepts of national and cultural identity it is impossible to dismiss the importance of language. Hobsbawn (1990, pp 98-99) looks at the German concept of national identity which states that “language was the only adequate indicator of nationality” and made territorial claims on linguistic grounds. The nationalism of the oppressed peoples of Eastern Europe including the Croats has largely been based on the German concept of national identity. Krawchenko (1985, p.242) looks at how Ukrainian similarly to Croatian was forbidden in schools both as a language of instruction and as a subject in the hope that with time the national identity of the Ukrainian similarly to that of the Croat nation would melt in the mixing pot and that national heritage would in some way combine to form a great Russia and Yugoslavia. The Russian authorities banned the publication of Ukrainian language books. This abolition extended also to the use of Ukrainian on the stage, the instruction of any subject in Ukrainian within elementary schools, and even to books in Ukrainian which had to be removed from schools libraries (Subtelny, 1988 p.283). Similarly the Serb government of the time undertook it’s very own pre war manipulation of the language and outlawed the instruction of Croat history and the publication of books written



by known Croatian nationalists in fear that this would awaken a dormant nationalism and evoke a violent reaction towards the concept of the Yugoslav federation, ethnic jokes which were considered by the indigenous population to be a harmless indulgence into the vast cultural melting pot of the former Yugoslavia were also outlawed. Takach (1996, pp.641-659) claims that for the Ukrainians as with the Croats, the only way to avoid discriminatory practices or to achieve upward mobility was by assimilation or by acquisition of a foreign language and culture.

Daniel Aluyevich, Interview # 8: *"We could not use our own words under the old regime and now these words have returned with a vengeance. After I was born Hitler rose to power and I lived for seven years under the Italian's and we had to learn Italian at school, it was unthinkable to utter a Croat word ..... and then I spent three years learning Italian in school ..... then came the Germans under which there were no schools because they used to bomb them, there was poverty and hunger all round .... Then came Yugoslavia and one had to learn Chirilitsa (Serbian written form) which was a core subject at all educational institutions, we had to learn their words for instance I say Bilo (white) and they say Byeilo .... And thus we never really had our own words. These Croatian words now are surfacing left right and centre, whether they are necessary or not"*

Emilia Vantich, Interview # 20: *"These new words are old Croat words that have been brought back, after the Second World War when we joined Yugoslavia our words were slowly faised out and eventually our children were not taught Croatian in school but SerboCroat so we were taught their language really and now everything is going back to normal."*

### Need for a convenient and acceptable past

The malicious pre war manipulation/sanitization of the Croatian language by the state and media had created a fragmented pre-war subject who was no longer capable of placing his/her sense of natural evolution within the sequential time flux continuum. This in turn instigated the innate need of the subject to obtain and/or readily accept a convenient and acceptable past.

Vyekoslav Domich, Interview # 9: *"The government has brought our heritage back .. they brought back Ban Yelachich who was banned by the communists"*

Daniel Aluyevich, Interview # 8: *"Well listen most museums that concentrated on Yugoslavia were left to decay or destroyed ..... now we concentrate all our efforts on what we know from history to be Croatian, we are putting a lot of money into this .... I read the papers every day and apparently the government is investing a large part of the budget into heritage."*

### The need for a separate and distinct identity



In time this innate and mounting need to obtain both a convenient and acceptable past escalated into a need to acquire a separate and distinct identity, both on a individual and ethnic level. According to Vjekoslav Perica (2000) “ In the mid to early 70’s it became customary to display Croatian colours, wear ethnic attire, and sing patriotic songs and church hymns. Occasionally the police intervened, confiscated what was viewed as nationalist insignia and fined the violators” (V, Perica, 2000, p 3).

*Ivana Shkrobitsa, Interview # 3: “Pride .... Satisfaction in having your very own nationality ... knowing you belong to a certain people .. having your own territory and not borrowing a foreign identity.”*

*Daniel Aluyevich Interview # 8: “. I am proud to be Croat ... my folks are from Split, in fact one of the oldest families around ..”*

*Cane Dorilich, Interview # 7: “..... Personally ..... I am a great nationalist, these are my people, I am an extremist and I am proud to have my nation ..... an independent nation.”*

### Post war manipulation of the Croatian language

Hobsbawn in 1996 discussed what he terms ‘political’ languages, which are languages that have been created specifically as symbols of nationalist or regionalist aspirations, generally for separatist or secession purposes. In Croatia, the government has enforced a post war manipulation of the language of the people in order to regress to a purer form of communication. These changes were introduced after the 1996 liberation. Nonetheless, the people are now unsure whether the new words are authentic or just another romanticised version of the past, fed to them by the government as a form of rebellion for the 50 years of communist domination. The vast majority of those interviewed were dissatisfied with the changes to the Croatian language, particularly the younger generation. There were members of the younger generation though who perceived the changes to the Croat language as a process of natural evolution.

*Emilia Vantich, Interview # 20: “These new words are old Croat words that have been brought back, after the Second World War when we joined Yugoslavia our words were slowly phased out and eventually our children were not taught Croatian in school but SerboCroat so we were taught their language really and now everything is going back to normal”*

*Renata Andriyolich, Interview # 2: “Well from the beginning of the civil war us Croats must study the new Croatian language because we were not allowed to go on using the same language since it contained many Serbian words ... thus they changed everything into Croat... like lets say avion (aeroplane) was changed into zrakoplov... you see some stupidities that we*



*never heard of before. You must understand that all this came from the government ... everything that was Serbian or fascist in the former regime is now a taboo subject"*

For many of the informants in their mid thirties and above the view was exceedingly dissimilar. Some of the informants feel that the new words have no logical bases but they should be utilized due to government claims that they are archaic Croat words. However a good number interrogate the validity of all the changes whilst some question the extent to which the new language has been altered by the intelligencia and the government. A common perception was that the new language needed to be cleansed of all foreign influences especially Serb.

Tonchi Bibich, Interview # 12: *"The changes in the language have helped this nation feel like it truly exists ... its nice to have your own language and to know that it is a pillar of ones nationalism. It is important not to go too far though as I have told you previously"*

Michael Reich, Interview # 9: *"Between 1970 and 1990 it was very difficult to be a Croat. This was a time when the public showing of the cross symbolised that you were a Croat and Ustashe. In the same way many words symbolised the Ustashe.. I remember the word svyetanazor, I worked out what it meant and started using it, but whenever I did I was asked "so who do you think you are, some Great Croat?" (meaning a strong nationalist) I think that is very silly. If a man uses a word it does not necessarily mean he is a Great Croat"*

### Justifying the new language

Following the post war manipulation of the language, the contemporary subject has projected a conscious need to justify the new language. Most of the attempts at reinforcement/justification relate to a return to an archaic spoken form and a reinforcement of how "true to Croatian origins" the current spoken form is in relation to the former manipulated form of the language utilised under Yugoslav rule. Few of the participants (mostly the younger generation) voiced the belief that the modern spoken form is nothing more than a premeditated attempt at identity generation pushed forward by the post war regime.

Emilia Vantich, Interview # 20: *"These new words are old Croat words that have been brought back, after the Second World War when we joined Yugoslavia our words were slowly faised out and eventually our children were not taught Croatian in school but SerboCroat so we were taught their language really and now everything is going back to normal."*



Daniel Aluyevich, Interview # 8: *“reacted ..... you know that the Croats always wanted to have a language they could call their own and that is because they had always lived under foreign rule”*

Snyejana Reich, Interview # 1: *“Eeem it is only normal that the language needed to be changed it had to change because it had a lot of Turkish and Italian words or even Serb words, so in the beginning this was all very much overdone but I think that with time this is all calming down. “*

Sanya Domich, Interview # 5: *“This is the original language. I can prove it by showing you old books. What we have done is just to get rid of the Serbian words, but really, the only thing that has changed with common words is the pronunciation. Some old words have been brought back, not new ones, just old words that have been forgotten .....all Serbian variations of words have been thrown out and only Croat definitions can now be found in the dictionary. There were also many European words in the language like radio, but now we just use the old Croat word for these objects. At the end of the day, these changes were initiated by the people, they come from an intrinsic need to return to our own roots”*

Many of the younger informants strongly stressed the fact that the new language was concocted by the government and filtered through the mass media. Some of the younger informants in particular described a television programme called ‘Words’ which started broadcasting during 1992. This programme attempted to ‘re-educate’ the Croat nation and teach the people to speak ‘authentic Croat’. It appears that the consequences of the usage of the Croatian language have been reversed. In the past anybody discovered utilizing Croat words was prosecuted whilst in post war Croatia anybody caught not exercising the new language is instantaneously socially excluded and branded a Yugo-Nostalgic, I myself had experienced this form of linguistic racism the first time I returned to Croatia after the war in 1997, I walked into a bakery and asked an assistant for a loaf of bread. What I had not realized is that I had utilized the Serbo-Croat version of the word bread (Hleb) and was thus refused service until I decided to use the Croat interpretation of the word (Kruh).

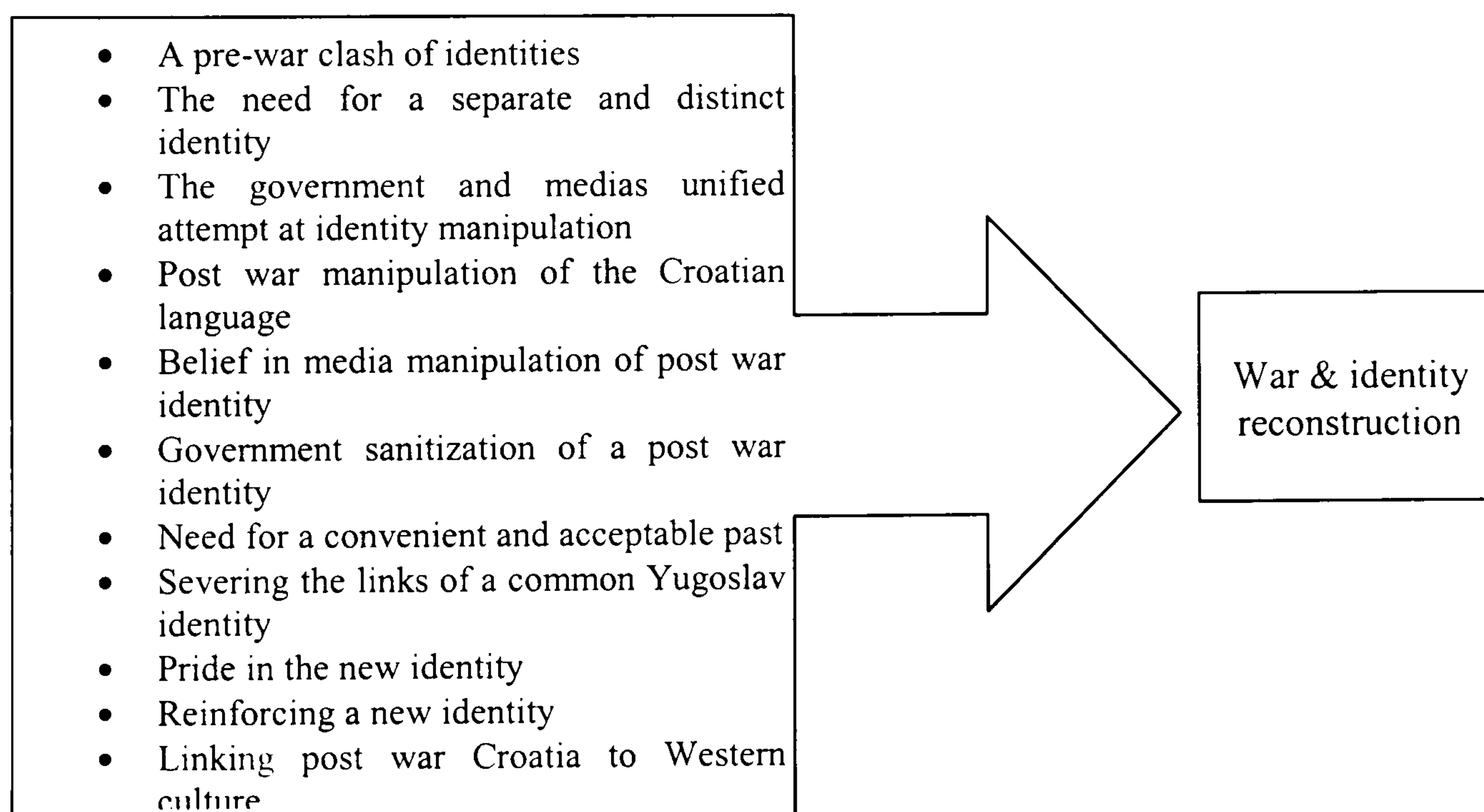
According to Hobsbawn (1996), all languages have elements of political self-assertion, which may become exaggerated when attempting to bring about regional secessionism and political independence by linguistic separatism. Moreover, concepts in discourse can be socio-culturally organised. In times of intercultural trouble, language concepts can be used to blame a cultural (sub) group. Cultural interests can be served to defend threatened cultural identity or position, and potentially guilty behaviour excused. Language is a flexible conceptual response for action (Shi Xu, 1996).



## 5. Explanatory sub category – War & Identity Reconstruction

By not being others we define ourselves, we have always done so (Barkan, 1994). National identity is a fluid, shifting concept, it can only be recognized in a personalized and fragmented form, whether it finds expression in texts or in the behaviour and social practices of individuals and groups. As with analogous symbolic constructs such as language, it is only empirically that we become aware of systematic patterns which underlie the abstract concept of national identity: that is, through exposure to individual examples of discourses or forms of behaviour which are common characteristics and thus set up associations and expectations in our affective and rational minds (Crawshaw, 1997). However, it has been established that in the case of a society uprooted by mass conflict the systematic patterns which underlie the concept of identity can be purposely distorted in order to offer the individual a more convenient and acceptable past/identity (Korac, 1996; Denitch, 1996; Takach, 1996; Krawchenko, 1985).

This subsequent group of concepts consistently re-occurred throughout all of the interviews and spread throughout the integral spectrum of age groups studied, they in turn led to the development of the War & Identity Reconstruction sub category:





### A pre war clash of identities

In post WWII Yugoslavia, people were able to accept Tito and his communist ideology because they saw his government as the lesser of the two evils vis-à-vis an aggressively nationalistic Serb-Croat rivalry. It protected the Serbs from the nationalistic Croatian Ustasha and it protected the Croats from the nationalistic Serbian Chetniks who took part in massive racist atrocities during the Second World War (Auty, 1970). “Yugoslavian”, the nationalist banner under which the people were united as Slavs and common workers, was the realization of the great Marshals communist ideals. Recognizing that it was dangerous to wait for ethnic identity to fade, he created and enforced an artificial nationality, based on a united heritage (which at this time was limited to museums concentrating on WWII), to unite the population of the inorganic nation. For the forty-five years during which Tito led the country (in person and in soul), this ideology seemed to work relatively well. Tito believed that the artificial unifying nationality as a common denominator could suppress the variety of nationalistic assertions within the country. The naïve communist expectation was that people would be linked in such a manner and that individual nationalities would cease to exist and that the only classification left would be the glorious “worker”. Indeed while Tito was alive this link did exist, we could all feel it. The failure though is apparent, however in the realization that this link was forged through “forced unification”, fear and a military dictatorship where people lived in fear of speaking their mind, not the faux-nationalistic integrity he had hoped for. Throughout all my field trips in Croatia a plethora of participants strongly postulated to a pre-war clash of identities in the former Yugoslavia, mostly highlighting the Serbo-Croat clash of ethnicities, ideologies and beliefs dating back to pre WWII nationalisms.

Tonchi Bibich, Interview # 12: *“There were many good things in the old regime but some bad things such as the stereotyping of the Croats to the Ustashe but what the hell ... even with my Serb friends we used to joke about this even though they sometimes called me HERKY (Croat), whenever they asked me where I came from I always use to say Croatia ... I was never ashamed of that.”*

Sanya Domich, Interview # 5: *“...I am talking about the media under the former regime, they just soiled the Croat paste by constantly reminding the people of the Ustashe and fascism in Croatia .. basically they created a false and negative impression of the Croat people during the second world war”*



Tonchi Bibich, Interview # 12: *"...when I went to school it was considered to be a fascist statement when someone uttered the word independence ... it was considered a negative thought ..... in fact it was a thought which could land you a lifetime prison sentence."*

Daniel Aluyevich, Interview # 8: *"... you see Croats are a people that strongly believe that tomorrow will be a better day, we are great optimists and that is what saves us. The Serbs by mentality though do not think that tomorrow will be a better day but they think that tomorrow we will live like nobody else because we will possess everything ... but a Croat doesn't think this way ... he wished to be left alone in his land, his house and his gardens ... he says let me be in peace so that I can live here, I am not interested what happens over there ..."*

### The need for a separate and distinct identity

It has been maintained that in pre WWII Yugoslavia what really set the Ustasha fascists apart was the degree to which their anti-Serb animosity was the key ingredient of their self-perception, of their very "Croatness" (Trifkovic, 2000). During WWII Yugoslavia the Croat need for a separate and distinct identity was reflected in an anti-Serb animosity. This need lay dormant for 45 years only to be re-awoken during the recent 1991-1996 civil war where the Croats reinforced their conception of self through the disassociation with the "other" (Serb/Yugoslav) ethnic self (Barkan, 1994).

Ivana Shkrobitch, Interview # 3: *"Pride .... Satisfaction in having your very own nationality ... knowing you belong to a certain people .. having your own territory and not borrowing a foreign identity."*

Daniel Aluyevich Interview # 8: *"I am proud to be Croat ... my folks are from Split, in fact one of the oldest families around .."*

Cane Dorilich, Interview # 7: *"..... Personally ..... I am a great nationalist, these are my people, I am an extremist and I am proud to have my nation ..... an independent nation."*

### The government & medias unified attempt at identity manipulation

Attitudes have been deeply formed and reinforced by the post civil war/ contemporary regime and media in many areas of daily life. Observations of curriculum content while on a visit to a primary school revealed that the educational system has changed dramatically. These changes were reiterated in the stories of the informants. Under the former Yugoslav system children were taught about battles fought and won by the partisans and the shameful betrayal of the Ustashe Fascists. Now, however, the partisans and Josip Broz Tito have become a



taboo subject and the children are taught romanticized and highly sanitized perceptions about the Ustashe Fascists of the Second World War and the Heroines of the antecedent civil war, which was instigated and won by the late Franjo Tudgman and the HDZ.

Renata Andriyolich, Interview # 2: *"When I was at school I had to learn about the Partisans and the Russians, but now my sister does not learn anything about them at all. She only learns about the civil war, the HDZ, and basically whatever the government thinks we should know....a piece of history that does not appeal to the government must not be taught"*

Ivana Shkrobitsa, Interview # 3: *"The media are controlled by the government, they only show us what the government want us to see..."*

Ivana Franich, Interview # 13: *"The government ... well it dictates heritage, that's where it all originates from. Their decisions together with media create a formidable weapon for the reinterpretation of historical facts..."*

Martina Zekovich, Interview # 15: *"...I believe that they have massively distorted our present through the use of our past..."*

### Post war manipulation of the Croatian language

Following the end of the 1991-1996 civil war matters of descent, birth and a sense of kinship have become critically important to the post civil war Croat subject, for the methods of inclusion and exclusion into the post-civil-war identity often involve explicit or tacit adoption of endogamy and exogamy. The post war Croat ethnos utilised all the above aspects of cultural differentiation to push forward the new ethnic identity, the Croats even went as far as to create a post war manipulated form of the Serbo-Croat language in order to set a concrete building block for post-war Croat identity. Participants vary in their interpretation of the effects of adopting the new spoken form, many of the older participants view it as the original form of the language whilst the younger generation emphasize a compulsory implementation in its usage and unwarranted political manipulation.

Tonchi Bibich, Interview # 12: *"The changes in the language have helped this nation feel like it truly exists ... its nice to have your own language and to know that it is a pillar of ones nationalism. It is important not to go too far though as I have told you previously."*

Renata Andriyolich, Interview # 2: *"Well from the beginning of the civil war us Croats must study the new Croatian language because we were not allowed to go on using the same language since it contained many Serbian words ... thus they changed everything into Croat... like lets say avion (aeroplane) was changed into zrakoplov... you see some stupidities that we never heard of before. You must understand that all this came from the government ... everything that was Serbian or fascist in the former regime is now a taboo subject."*



Ivana Shkrobtsa, Interview # 3: *"This is purely and simply government manipulation. They did this because they have not managed to accomplished anything that they promised so with the use of the language they are trying to cover up ... these word never existed, they want Croats to think that they are great heroes that are trying to bring back the original Coat language ... they do this because they are incapable to develop the country in the correct areas .. economically ... spiritually."*

### Belief in media manipulation of post war identity

Many participants emphasized the role of the media in the manipulation of post war identity. The highlighted themes ranged from linguistic manipulation to the selective broadcasting of news bulletins.

Antonia Pavichin, Interview # 11: *"These changes in the language were pushed into use by the media, they started using them and bit by bit we got used to these new words and started using them. This was not dictated to us ... there are a few words though that you must use*  
*INT: MUST?*

*Yes you must ... well you would not be punished or fined if you didn't but you would be looked at strangely ..... eeem .... It is just expected of you."*

Renata Andriyolich, Interview # 2: *"Before we heard the Serbs news... everything was in Serbian. Croat TV at that time was very small ... now though things are worse ... now they lie to us more, much more than the Serbs ever did... it's just pure politics, it's just that before they were Serbs and now they are Croats ... it's just the politics of spectacle, show and lies..."*

### Government sanitization of post war identity

According to Arthur Takach (1996) the most important role of the "awakeners" (politicians, intelligencia and social elites) is to enlighten the members of a neouvou ethnos as to their new found and distinctive identity. The famous phrase of Massimo d' Azeglio "we have made Italy, now we have to make Italians" did not mean that Italians were to be constructed. Their transformation into nationally conscious citizens was accomplished by deliberate ideological engineering in which particular roles and beliefs were ascribed by the state educational systems and political mobilisation (Takach, 1996), such has been the effect on Croatia. Franjo Tudgman, once a hard core communist spurred on and literally manufactured post-war Croatian national identity with the use of a highly sanitised form of the Croatian



language (Nadj, 1997) and a romanticised portrayal of the Croat past, it might be argued that Tudgman had attempted to re-engineer the Croat citizen and the future of the state with the use of a cleansed/manipulated perception of the Croatian past which solely concentrated on highlighting differences between the Croats and Serbs and excluding the Serbs from Croatian history. Many participants discussed governmental involvement in the sanitization of a post war identity, most informants consider this political involvement unwelcome and highly suspect whilst very few consider it to be a inevitability.

*Renata Andriyolich, Interview # 2: "Of course, well every government .. at least the last two that I have had the experience to see have just used heritage in order to serve their own ambitions ... so a piece of heritage that does not appeal to the government must not be taught at schools..."*

*Danira Yeleska, Interview # 10: "They are pushing the limits really... they have overdone it, apparently they are digging up some old Croat word and are trying to cleanse the Croatian language of foreign impurities as they say ... they are reintroducing some words that haven't been used for hundreds of years and now the Croat people no longer understand their own language! To me these words are strange."*

*Ivana Franich, Interview # 13: "The government ... well it dictates heritage, that's where it all originates from. Their decisions together with media create a formidable weapon for the reinterpretation of historical facts.*

*In this part of the world the government controls the media..."*

*Renata Andriyolich, Interview # 2: " When I was at school I had to learn about the Partisans and the Russians but now my sister does not know anything about all that, she only learns about the civil war, the HDZ and basically whatever the government thinks that we should know."*

*Danira Yeleska, Interview # 10: "Yes I do think that due to the financial and economic difficulties currently experienced by the Croats, the media together with the government have perversely distorted heritage in order to offer the post modern consumer a acceptable past"*

*Renata Andriyolich, Interview # 2: "... so a piece of heritage that does not appeal to the government must not be taught at schools"*

*Danira Yeleska, Interview # 10: "Of course they did ... they did what the bloody Fascists did ... they changed and nostalgically cleansed all books that are being studied in school, if you compare the books that are being studied now with the ones studied a few years back you will find they contradict themselves in almost everything they claim.*

*INT: what happened to the old books?*

*I told you they banned them .. they were not to be used any more, all the old negative aspects of heritage have been rewritten to represent positive aspects now ... I am referring to important personas within heritage. so as I was saying nothing has really changed ... but we claim to be democratic and open towards Europe etc. etc."*

*Duje Dorich, Interview # 4: "Today we learn about Croat history, whilst before we were only taught about Yugoslavia. I am Croat, I want to know about my own heritage."*



### Need for a convenient and acceptable past

According to Srdja Trifkovic (2000) history, has previously borne witness to a Croat need for a convenient and acceptable past, it was this very need that symbolised the naissance to the infamous “Ustasha” (insolent) movement in pre WWII Yugoslavia. The post civil war subject once more portrays the need for a convenient and acceptable past, many of the older participants state that that this need is being nourished by the post war establishment which is reuniting contemporary Croatia with it’s equitable origins and past.

Vyekoslav Domich, Interview # 9: *“The government has brought our heritage back .. they brought back Ban Yelachich who was banned by the communists”*

Daniel Aluyevich, Interview # 8: *“Well listen most museums that concentrated on Yugoslavia were left to decay or destroyed ..... now we concentrate all our efforts on what we know from history to be Croatian, we are putting a lot of money into this .... I read the papers every day and apparently the government is investing a large part of the budget into heritage.”*

### Severing the links of a common Yugoslav identity

The need for a convenient and acceptable past has in turn led the contemporary subject to the state of “disassociation” with his/her past. Whilst discussing their emotions towards other members of the former Yugoslav federation, and consciously severing all links of a common Yugoslav identity, most of the informants concentrated solely on the Serbs, it is strongly postulated that the Serbs are a breed of people that have been mentally disciplined for battle and a consistently re-occurring theme was that the Serbs are conditioned for aggression and some informants went as far as to state that “A Serb is born with a dagger beneath his pillow”.

Danira Yeleska, Interview # 10: *“I would say that the Serbs are temperamental just like us but are culturally not as evolved as we are and most importantly they carry within their genes a need for battle and aggression ... it is said that the Serbs are born with a dagger beneath their pillows, this fact has been proved by some research. They always suffered from a hallucination that they did not distort anything and have been victims throughout the course of history .... In the end both world wars have been linked to the Serbs”*

Renata Andriyolich, Interview # 2: *“I would prefer it if all reminders of the Serbs were wiped out....I really can't stand the Serbs as a people.....We are much more cultured than the Serbs and the Bosnians....we never really got on with them”*



Vyekoslav Domich, Interview # 9: *"There was a small church in the centre .... What was it's name .... Saint Save's, it was a small thing but at the moment it does not operate any more.*

*Int: how do you feel about that church?"*

*"It's not right! , it's on my land!!"*

*Int: " would you prefer that it did not exist?"*

*"Yes!"*

Duye Dorich, Interview # 4: *"Let them get rid of all of it ... Serbs are a different people ... they attacked us, they killed us"*

Ivana Shkrobtsa, Interview # 3: *"Well ... we belong to the west. We are more cultural whilst they are more aggressive, they just concentrate on obtaining what is not theirs whilst we on the other hand concentrate on developing what really belongs to us"*

Danira Yeleska, Interview # 10: *"The damned Serbs ... they sparked of both world wars and they just missed out in sparking of the third..."*

Daniel Aluyevich, Interview # 8: *"The Serbs are a different people, they have no God ..... that is my opinion."*

Ivana Franich, Interview # 13: *" The Serbs are much more aggressive than us .... We are just interested in our own and don't really care about others land."*

Numerous informants expressed ample anger towards the Serbs and their conduct throughout the war, a predominant view was that all Serb artefacts should be removed from public view, some informants felt that the removal of Serb artefacts was not enough and that the destruction of their historical remnants in Dalmatia was the only way to emiliate the unacceptable past of this new born nation:

### Pride in the new identity

Through the severing of links with a common Yugoslav identity the contemporary subject eliminates all association with what he/she is not (Yugoslav); (Barkan, 1994). However by not being Yugoslav the subject must now redefine his/her sense of ethnic self by inserting himself/herself within a new ethnic category, that of Croat. Many participants strongly asserted a new found sense of pride in the new identity, several younger informants stated that the new identity possessed minor "imperfections", but overall most participants maintained to be content with their new-found identity.

Antonia Pavichin, Interview # 11: *"..I feel proud to be Croat ... I would change various aspects of our mentality and lifestyle but overall I am glad to be a member of this society..."*



Danira Yeleska, Interview # 10: *"I am proud to belong to something .... It is important to me as a individual to posses some from of heritage..."*

Yure Brikan, Interview # 14: *"..... being Croat to myself is an honour because Croatia is one of the rare nations which possesses such a beautiful sea, overwhelming countryside, interesting and archaic heritage and that overall has a hard working population and productive land."*

### Reinforcing a new identity

Whilst discussing their experiences within the site most informants claimed to feel a positive uplift and an overwhelming feeling of pride with regards to their national identity and the significance of their nation. Most stated that heritage strengthened their sense of nationalism and reinforced their new found identity. Most substantially though all informants agreed that the civil war massively reinforced and for some, awakened their sense of nationalism. It is decidedly possible that for various participants the civil war and the new found national identity has provoked a need to search out, classify, reason with and reinforce the contemporary norm in order to offer themselves a sequential and logical path through the time flux continuum.

Ivana Shkrobitsa, Interview # 3: *"Pride .... Satisfaction in having your very own nationality ... knowing you belong to a certain people .. having your own territory and not borrowing a foreign identity"*

*Int "Has this changed since the Civil war?"*

*"It's much stronger ... you must understand now we have freedom"*

Sanya Domich, Interview # 5: *"I never was asked this before .... Through a strong heritage and many wars and blood we became a republic ... so that I feel proud to be Croat"*

*Int : "Has this changed since the Civil war?"*

*"Yes it has in a positive way .. because we have managed to achieve what we have been told to do by the elders for decades now ... to liberate Croatia. This has been filtered through generations .. like a bedtime story ... once we were a free people ..every generation tried to make this story become a reality. Now we are in a horrible financial state which in a way quietens down the happy voices of freedom but I think that is a normal effect of war"*

Daniel Aluyevich, Interview # 8: *"Well listen ... what it personally means to myself ..... I am glad to be Croat ..... I wouldn't appreciate it if someone was to come up to me and say " if you were a German you would have more" , I have my house, my country and that's enough.."*

Ivana Shkrobitsa, Interview # 3: *"I have a heritage, this is what has been left to me by my grandfathers ... and this is just mine!.."*



These convictions very much concede with the emotions experienced by the vast majority of the oppressed nations of Eastern Europe who at some period in time shared a national identity which was enforced/run by 'Alien' rulers (Holy, 1996).

### Linking post war Croatia to the West

Many participants attempted to further reinforce the post civil war Croat identity through the elimination of all links with the Serbian/Balkan past. This was accomplished by inserting Croatia on the western side of the social, political, religious and cultural barrier whilst reinforcing the Serbian link with the Eastern socio/political mentality.

Ivana Shkrobtsa, Interview # 3: *"Well ... we belong to the west. We are more cultural whilst they are more aggressive,"*

Renata Andriyolich, Interview # 2: *"Yes .... The Croats you see are more of a European nation than the Serbs or Bosnians... they on the other hand are typical of what I expect of the Balkans."*

Cana Dorilich, Interview # 7: *"Yes there are physical variations and they are from a different culture, we are more linked to the west whilst they have strong links with the Ottoman Empire, the culture is different ... it's another religion."*

Nina Baras, Interview # 17: *"There are differences in culture between us and the Serbs, there is a massive difference. The Serbs are closer to the Eastern mentality but we in the other hand posses a Western ideology."*

The emergent sense of pride in the new identity coupled with a constant reinforcement of the new national identity and the connection of Croatian culture to the western ideology has escalated into a delusional sense of superiority by the post war subject, the contemporary subject has developed a conviction in the superiority of the new identity. Many of the older participants believed there to be physical differences between the Croats and other members of the former Yugoslav federation, the younger participants echoed the above view by claiming superiority on intellectual more than physical grounds.

Ivana Franich, Interview # 13, *"Yes we are more intelligent and much more beautiful as a nation. We are much warmer as characters .... I am not sure about physically but I know that we are superior as a nation.."*

Duye Dorich, Interview # 4: *"Yes we are better than them. We are more intelligent .."*



Tamir (1995) claims that a nation may be defined as a community whose members share feelings of fraternity, substantial distinctiveness, and exclusivity, as well as beliefs of a common ancestry and a continuous genealogy. Members of such a community are aware not only that they share these feelings and beliefs but that they have an active interest in the preservation and well-being of their community. They thus seek to secure for themselves a public sphere where they can express their identity, practice their culture, and educate their young. At particular times when the sense of national identity is threatened or restrained by an outside force there is a need to foster and assert a sense of identity (Kong & Yeoh, 1997). In Croatia, the past, the present and the future are inextricably interconnected as the post war nation works towards reinventing itself as 'independent', autonomous, and above all Croat.

*What the conflict in the former Yugoslavia and elsewhere has demonstrated is that there is a nationalism of people who possess a state and the nationalism of those who do not, and that, in the latter case, the sense of nationhood can be more acute, if not in fact extreme. One may argue that the nationalism of stateless peoples is particularly susceptible to mythification since it does not create solidarity after the historical creation of a state, but rather engenders it in pursuit of a hoped-for state and is therefore less constrained by historical realities.*

*(Raymond et al 1997 p.22)*



## **6. Explanatory sub category – Paranoia**

Arthur Takach (1996) in his paper entitled 'In Search of Ukrainian National Identity: 1840-1921' states that

*"A nation is the product of long term historical evolution, the result of long lasting social communication and social mobility. Its appearance seems to be the inevitable consequence of the breakdown of traditional communities in connection with the capitalist transformation of old societies."*

Takach, 1996, p 16

Hobsbawn (1990: p10) puts forward a contradicting view stating that "Nations are constructed from 'above' by the government and the intelligencia, the so called 'awakeners' " in the case of Croatia though both hypothesis are applicable. Post war Croatia like all modern nations truly is the product of a long term historical evolution however it has also been amply instigated by the so called national awakeners the effect of which has materialized in a post war consumer of heritage which is highly suspicious and infuriated by all and any foreign interest within his or her nation or culture.

The former Yugoslav republics had experienced the most crudest form of national identity politics after the war, it boiled down to 'we' versus 'they' (Denitch, 1996) the result of which is that Croatia now employs the politics of intellectually and morally lazy people. Almost everything is explained by endless arcane conspiracies against our very own, victimized ethnic nation (Denitch, 1996). This makes the Croats feel that their nation is terribly important and world significant, in turn this 'paranoia' fuelled by the intelligencia has made post war Croatia extremely xenophobic .

On a personal level I have found that for the citizens of the former Yugoslav states including myself this anticipated state of Paranoia allows for no room for individual views, all views are expected to be fatally and permanently shaped by one's ethnic identity. I have experienced this even at academic meetings, where I am asked what is my ethnic origin whenever I speak about the war in the former Yugoslavia, the assumption being that my

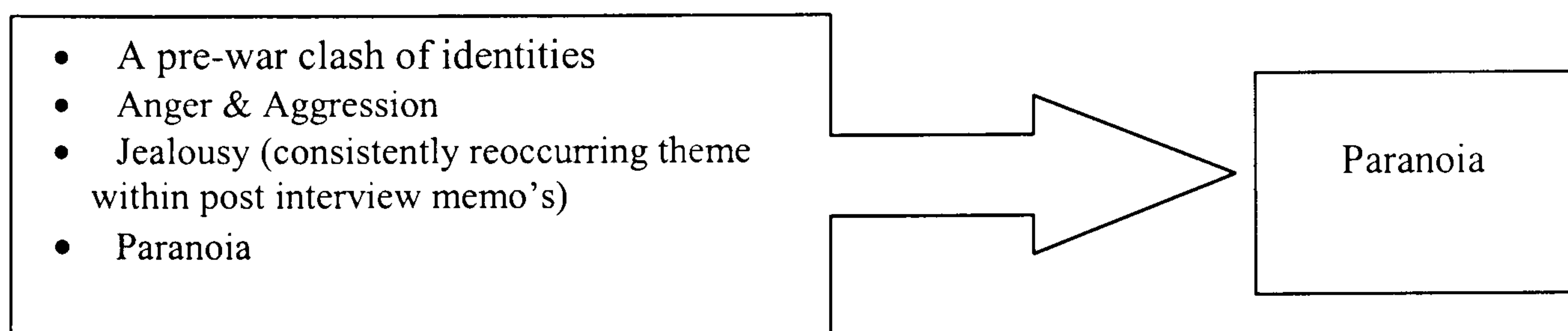


ethnic identity should dictate Paranoid like views, reactions and ideologies upon the subject of the former Yugoslavia.

*Arthur S Reber (1985: pp235) defines the clinical psychological condition of Paranoid Schizophrenia as:*

*Schizophrenia, Paranoid (type): A type of Schizophrenia characterized primarily by delusions of persecution or grandiosity or hallucinations with persecutory or grandiose content. Delusional jealousy is usually part of the disorder and any of a number of associated symptoms may be found, including unfocused anxiety, anger, argumentativeness, doubts about gender identity, stilted formal quality, and aloofness. Unlike many other forms of schizophrenia, the patient is usually of relatively normal appearance and clean in habits and if the delusions are not acted on, impairment in functioning may be minimal. Also called Paraphrenic Schizophrenia and Paraphrenia.*

Throughout the analysis of the data it became apparent that the above symptoms of Paranoia were consistently reoccurring in various extents within almost all of my interview transcripts. I do not classify the Croat nation as suffering from the clinical form of Paranoid Schizophrenia but from the Paranoid like symptoms which are associated with the post war effects of identity reformulation and purification which can in a sense be anticipated for a society that has recently experienced such major political and social upheavals. The following reoccurring pattern of concepts from the interview transcripts which compliment the above symptoms of clinical Paraphrenia have enticed myself to classify this group of heritage consumers under the sub-category of Paranoid Schizophrenics:



A pre war clash of identities



In the former Yugoslavia the incorporated ethnic communities of Croats, Bosnians, Muslims, Slovenians, Macedonians were treated as sociological minorities (Sugar & Lederer, 1969). That is to say, they were not minorities in numerical terms, they were marginalized and discriminated against, in varying degrees following the death of Marshall Tito. As Michael Hunter has documented, such minorities were subject to a whole series of economic exploitations, social exclusions, and cultural discriminations through which arose a historical clash/confusion with regards to their ethnic identity. Their economies were distorted to suit the market and economy needs of the dominant Serbian ethnies, their heritage was manipulated/withheld/cleansed in order to reflect the expansionist ideology of the authoritarian Serbs, their skilled labour was often forced to emigrate, their elites were culturally assimilated, high status positions were always reserved for members of the dominant Serbian ethnies, social welfare for minority communities was restricted, and there was a much higher rate of social alienation among the Yugoslav minorities (Smith, 1995).

Petar Nakir, Interview # 31: *"To the Serbs we were always Ustasha, we were never accepted as equals but were looked at as criminals and Nazi murderers."*

Christian Chuk, Interview # 43: *"They are Orthodox, we are Catholic, they speak different ... it is only normal that we identified ourselves as two separate nations ..... they are idiots!!"*

Daniel Aluyevich, Interview # 8: *"... you see Croats are a people that strongly believe that tomorrow will be a better day, we are great optimists and that is what saves us. The Serbs by mentality though do not think that tomorrow will be a better day but they think that tomorrow we will live like nobody else because we will possess everything ... but a Croat doesn't think this way ... he wished to be left alone in his land, his house and his gardens ... he says let me be in peace so that I can live here, I am not interested what happens over there ..."*

### Anger and aggression

The confusion and constraint inflicted upon the Croat nation through the pre and post war clash of identities and the manipulation of pre and post war Croatian heritage has correlated into a historical confusion in the identity of the individual subject. This in turn has escalated into the contemporary state of Anger and Aggression within the post polemic subject. The concept of Anger and Aggression has emerged from almost all the participants in the study.

Vjekoslav Domic, Interview # 9: *INT: "how do you feel about that Serb church?"*  
*"It's not right! , it's on my land!!!"*



Cane Dorilich, Interview # 7: *"You turned this piece of shit on? Hey who the hell are you kidding turn this thing off!!! (still holding the Dictaphone he says) I am going to throw this damned thing into the water !!!!, turn it off!!!!"*

Duye Dorich, Interview # 4: *"Let them get rid of all of it ... Serbs are a different people ... they attacked us, they killed us"*

## Jealousy

According to Hall (1994) areas breaking away from the former Soviet Union are reaffirming their essential ethnic identities and claims to nationhood which are at times buttressed by (sometimes extremely dubious) "stories" of mythic origins, religious supremacy, and highly questionable racial purity. Yet these former Eastern block countries may also be using the nation as the form in which to compete with other "ethnic nations", and (as in the case of Croatia) attempt to gain entry to the highly envied rich club of the West. A steadily reoccurring theme within the post interview memos is associated with the participants predominantly overt display of overpowering characteristics of jealousy or envy in concern to western nations and the individuals which inhabit and work within them.

INTERVIEW MEMO from Sanya Domich, Interview # 5: *Sanya is a primary school teacher. She works in the outskirts of Split. Sanya was very relaxed and willing to speak, she constantly asked me to repeat and rephrase my question and she took quite a long time to think about and answer these questions. She came across as a very dedicated nationalist.*

*Sanya's body language was very relaxed, she made abundant usage of her hands whilst speaking and was comfortable enough to maintain eye contact throughout the interview.*

*After the end of the interview Sanya became quite aggressive, she made comments on the superiority of the Croat way of life in comparison to the inferior West, a central theme to her aggression were Western educational institutions which she claimed took mediocre local students which in time became their prize exhibits (sanya feels that the Eastern educational system is superior in all ways that's why mediocre local students become stars in the west). Sanya was understandably bewildered when I informed her of the bribe system at University level and denied any such happening even when she was confronted by a few former interviewees that were made to pay such bribes.*

*Overall Sanya made very clear to me that foreign interest was not welcomed in Croatia and that she felt that all Western nations are populated by overweight and uncultured imbeciles. Sanya also confessed to me that the West is after the beauty of their nation thus the destruction of Yugoslavia was the only way for the West to gain control.*

*I personally felt that this wave of aggression was not only concentrated on the West but on myself as well, I believe that for some reason my age and more specifically my occupation sparked of her aggression.*



## Paranoia

Whilst discussing the nature of their experiences within the historical sites virtually all the informants displayed some or all of the acute symptoms of Paraphrenia. Some individuals made this apparent through aggressive behaviour, others through jealousy towards the West. Most held a Paranoid stance towards the outside worlds true motives for intervening in the war whilst few strongly portrayed paranoid delusions towards the government.

Vyekoslav Domich, Interview # 9: *"Do you know where is Velevit .... You don't even know were this is ... ha!! first of all you need to become aware of the geography and workings of this nation before you come around and question me"*

*INT: "I am not questioning you but only want to learn from you"*

*"You are f@\*!g incompetent just like everything else that comes from the west ...*

*.....you ask me about heritage but you don't know were f@\*!g Velevit is then there must be something wrong !!!! (he is getting upset, very red in the face). When a psychologist questions you the first thing he asks is where you come from!"*

*INT: "I am not a psychologist"*

*"The f!\*k your not .... You are incapable of questioning me ... you fucking foreigners just want us you just want to invade our country and take over"*

Information from MEMO of Sanya Domich, Interview # 5: *Overall Sanya made very clear to me that foreign interest was not welcomed in Croatia and that she felt that all Western nations are populated by overweight and uncultured imbeciles. Sanya also confessed that the West is after the beauty of their nation thus the destruction of Yugoslavia was the only way for the West to gain control.*

Yure Brikan, Interview # 14: *" Well I can say ... as far as I know that there was always some friction in between the Croats and the Serbs ... maybe because the Serbs are in the continental part of the Balkans whilst Croatia is on the coast and is made up of valuable mineral resources so it was always in the Serbs interest to conquer Croatia. This idea of conquest has been toyed with for a long time by the Serbs, and that is were the friction came from, they wanted us and that was that"*

Cane Dorilich, Interview # 7: *"I know why you want me ... you are a party member!! They sent you to get me, you just want me to say something that is wrong and then you and the rest of the HDZ shit are going to lock old Cane up!!!!"*

In the case of the final interviewee the occasion escalated to a violent level where I was physically attacked in an attempt by the participant to acquire the interview tape in fear of me being a HDZ informant. In due course the participant expressed fears that I might even be a spy for MI6.



The concept of paranoia has applied to the complete spectrum of informants interviewed ranging from the youngest to the eldest. However the majority of the more extreme cases in terms of aggressive behaviour and expressions of anger were all members of the elder generation who had first hand experience of the former Yugoslav regime. The sub-category of Paranoia has been predominant within the data. Although the concept of paranoia has been highly questioned within all the conferences and seminars I have attended and presented the research, I cannot bring myself to eliminate it due to it's integral role in the findings of this PhD. To eliminate the sub-category of Paranoia would be to rob this thesis of a valuable contribution and sociological discovery.

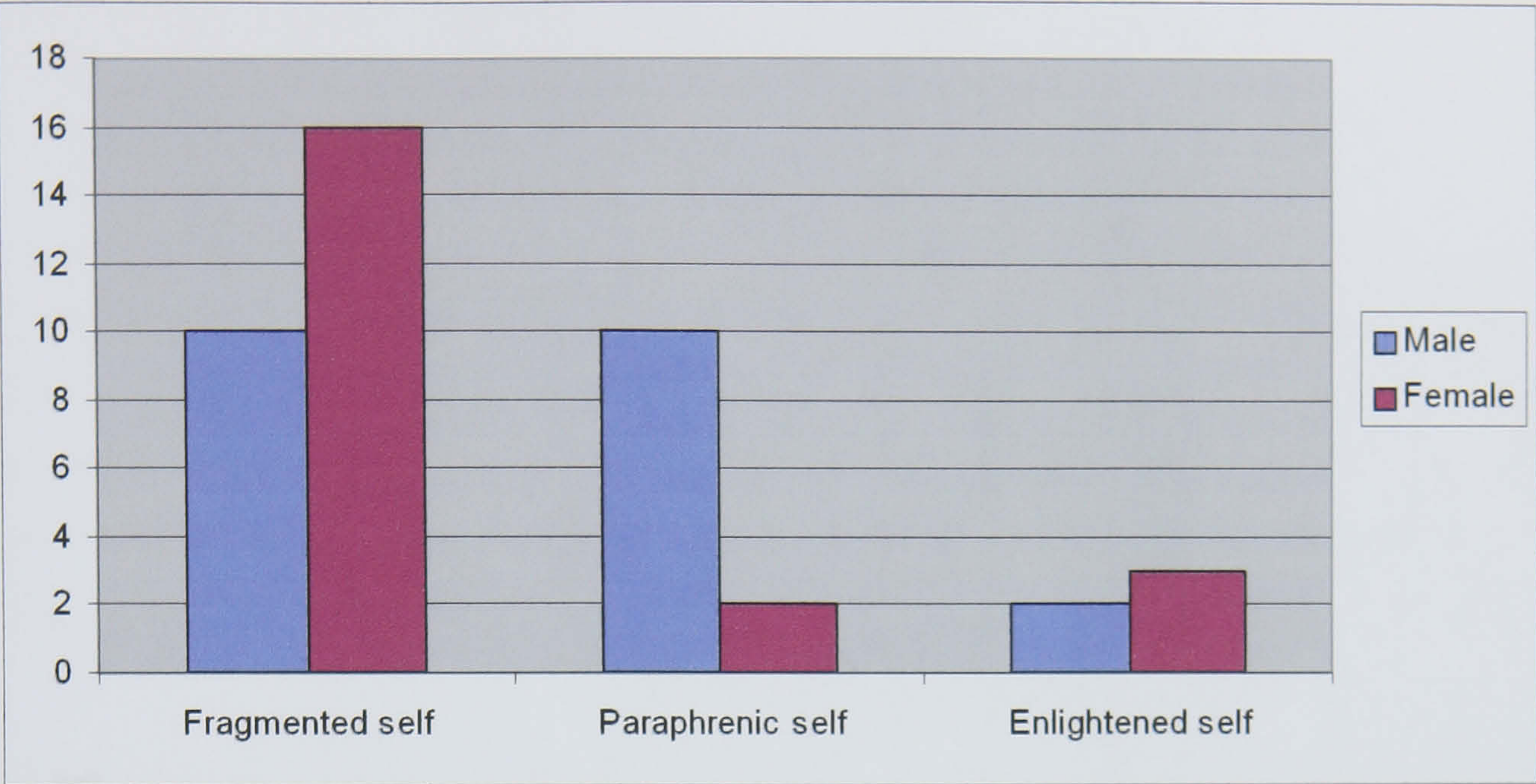


## EXPLANATORY CATEGORIES OF BEHAVIOUR

According to psychodynamic theories, a consistent and unitary self cannot be assumed, our conception of selfhood changes as we develop and age (Goulding, 1997). We employ defensive manoeuvres to establish, and at times re-establish a sense of wholeness, and we utilise defences such as an identity as a mechanism whose function is to provide a sense of continuity (Stevens, 1996). It is therefore impossible for myself to categorise individuals within constant, unfluctuating types, neither was it the goal of my thesis to do so. There are far too many subtleties, nuances, variations in behaviour and mood to try and pigeonhole people into rigid “types”. As time and the thesis progressed, I developed a belief that this would be an endless and almost impossible task. Therefore, the ultimate aim of this thesis was to move away from the analysis of individuals and to focus primarily on common behaviours based around distinguishing themes. These are however context and time specific and while the analysis emphasizes the self and meaning in relation to the consumption of the past, it is recognised that this is only one aspect of the self, it does not necessarily explain the multiplicity of selves that comprise the individual (Higgins, 1987; Markus & Nurius, 1986)

The sub categories that have emerged, thus far through the in depth study of the data, rationalize the six **emergent** aspects of consumer behaviour as related to the consumption of heritage within the post war Croat social structure. However, the emergent sub categories do not completely exemplify the behaviour of the individual subject. It has been observed through the in depth examination of the data that participants under no circumstances emphasized only one aspect of behaviour within the sub category level, they had a tendency to fervently accentuate a few of the sub categories simultaneously. Bearing this in mind, it was necessary to further group together the sub categories into explanatory categories in order to paint a more complete image of the post war consumer of heritage.

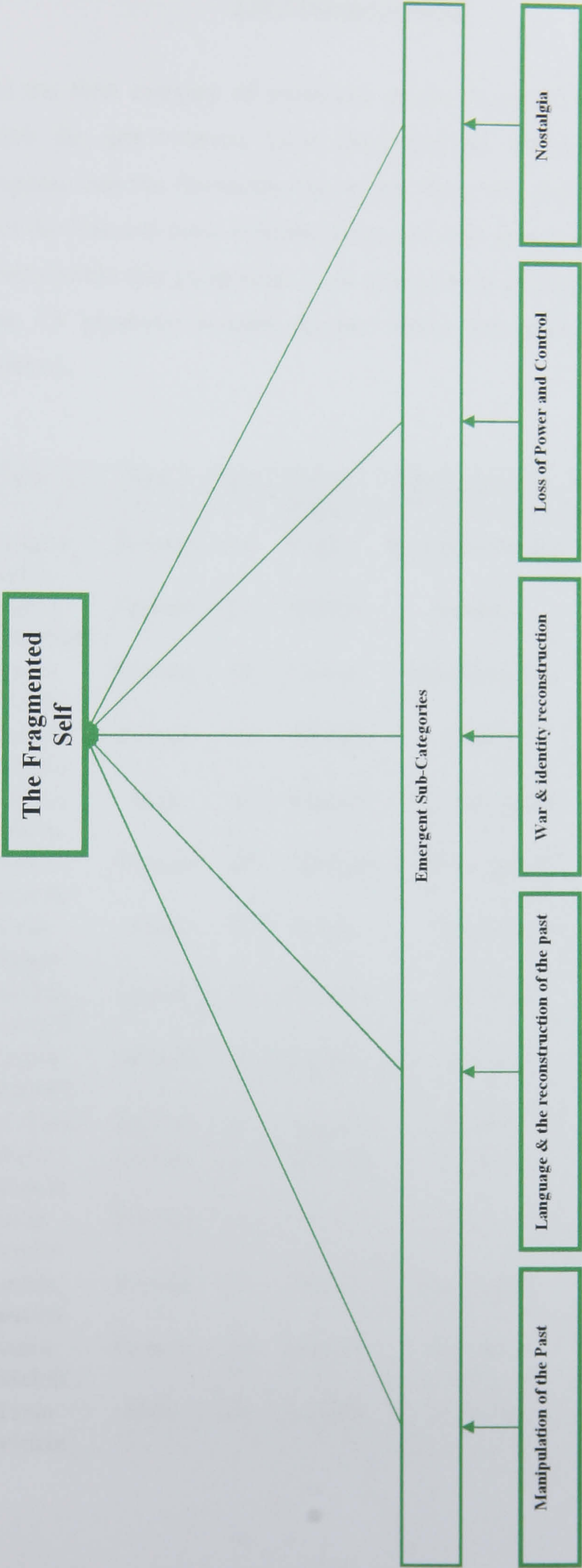




The auxiliary examination of the data has led to the emergence of three explanatory categories of behaviour (please refer to table above) related to the Fragmented self, the Paraphrenic self and the Enlightened self. For the purpose of exposition, orientation and contextualisation, the literature on each one of these is briefly discussed. The three categories of behaviour will then be presented and analysed in terms of their relationship and “fit” with extant theory.



Explanatory Category # 1: The Fragmented Self





### **The Fragmented Self**

I have defined the First category of behaviour as the Fragmented Self. This explanatory category bridges the gap between those displaying the behavioural characteristics of Nostalgia, Language and the Reconstruction of the Past, War and Identity Reconstruction, Manipulation of the Past and those suffering from a distinct loss of Power and Control. Most of the participants within this group come from a fairly wide spectrum of social roles such as businesswoman, TV presenter, student, teacher, dental technician, amongst others (please refer to table below).

| Number | Name               | Sex    | Age | Social Class | Occupation         | Town   | Prevailing Categorization |
|--------|--------------------|--------|-----|--------------|--------------------|--------|---------------------------|
| 001    | Snjezana Reich     | Female | 42  | Upper        | Businesswoman      | Split  | Fragmented                |
| 002    | Renata Andriyolich | Female | 21  | Middle       | Student            | Trogir | Fragmented                |
| 003    | Ivana Shkrobitsa   | Female | 18  | Lower        | Unemployed         | Trogir | Fragmented                |
| 010    | Danira Yeleska     | Female | 22  | Middle       | Student            | Zagreb | Fragmented                |
| 012    | Tonchi Bibich      | Male   | 40  | Middle       | TV Presenter       | Solina | Fragmented                |
| 013    | Ivana Franich      | Female | 19  | Middle       | Technician         | Trogir | Fragmented                |
| 014    | Yure Brikan        | Male   | 19  | Lower        | Student            | Trogir | Fragmented                |
| 015    | Martina Zekovich   | Female | 19  | Middle       | Student            | Zagreb | Fragmented                |
| 016    | Vanda Yuranich     | Female | 19  | Upper        | Student            | Zagreb | Fragmented                |
| 017    | Nina Baras         | Female | 19  | Upper        | Student            | Zagreb | Fragmented                |
| 018    | Maria Kukech       | Female | 19  | Middle       | Student            | Zagreb | Fragmented                |
| 019    | Julia Batalia      | Female | 24  | Lower        | Trader             | Trogir | Fragmented                |
| 020    | Emilia Vantich     | Female | 22  | Middle       | Beautician         | Trogir | Fragmented                |
| 021    | Ivona Pavichin     | Female | 18  | Middle       | Privately employed | Trogir | Fragmented                |
|        | Mario Pavichin     | Male   | 20  | Middle       | Student            | Trogir | Fragmented                |
| 026    | Pavichin           |        |     |              |                    |        |                           |



|     |                   |        |    |        |                    |        |            |
|-----|-------------------|--------|----|--------|--------------------|--------|------------|
| 027 | Dea Balich        | Female | 18 | Upper  | Dental Technician  | Split  | Fragmented |
| 028 | Marino Kuznainich | Male   | 30 | Upper  | Medical Technician | Trogir | Fragmented |
| 029 | Mihail Pavichin   | Male   | 20 | Lower  | Mechanic           | Trogir | Fragmented |
| 030 | Marino Bavich     | Male   | 21 | Lower  | Waitress           | Trogir | Fragmented |
| 032 | Marin Bolich      | Male   | 24 | Lower  | Mechanic           | Trogir | Fragmented |
| 033 | Tihana Dorich     | Female | 24 | Lower  | Student            | Split  | Fragmented |
| 034 | Daria Ljubich     | Female | 41 | Upper  | Economist          | Split  | Fragmented |
| 035 | Marin Balich      | Male   | 26 | Lower  | Waiter             | Trogir | Fragmented |
| 037 | Joshko Zubichich  | Male   | 18 | Middle | Student            | Trogir | Fragmented |
| 039 | Ivan Pijuk        | Male   | 20 | Lower  | Student            | Split  | Fragmented |
| 041 | Ivana Hrga        | Female | 18 | Lower  | Student            | Split  | Fragmented |

|                             |                              |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| Total 26 or 60.4%           | Average age 23.1             |
| Male 38.4 % 10 participants | Female 61.5% 16 participants |

The Fragmented visitor emerged from the data as the youngest age group, having an average age of 23.1. The Fragmented visitor was the largest category of behaviour (60.4%) emerging from the data and mostly constituted young females. Whilst there were certainly characteristics which associated the younger age groups with the concept of fragmentation, similarities were more evident in terms of acceptance of a manipulated past and present, acceptance of both pre and post war manipulation of the spoken form, determination of purpose manipulation of the heritage sites, confusion as to their sense of identity and the degree of depowerment the subject expressed.

This group of heritage consumers has consistently displayed the overt characteristics of perplexity with regard to the formation and maintenance of a sequential and un-fractured sense of self. The category, which is predominantly female, discusses fractures in historical



sequence (in terms of war) and display the evident signs of confusion as to their individual sense of self.

### Manipulation of the past

Historians have sometimes been pre-occupied with the connection between the past and the future (Heilbroner, 1995). There are reasons why in the contemporary world today this pre-occupation is particularly resonant (Phillips, 1998). In his book "Mythical Past, Elusive Future", Frank Furedi (1992) suggests that,

*"anxiety about the direction of the future has stimulated a scramble to appropriate the past"*

*Furedi, F, 1992, pp 3*

and describes attempts by governments and elites throughout the planet to reinvent national histories/identities. A consistently reoccurring theme within the fragmented explanatory group of behaviour was the fact that the Fragmented subject believes that both WWII and the current regime have cleansed history/the past. As a result the post-war subject has become afflicted with an ever increasing sense of confusion/de-centering. The fragmented subject displays partiality/subjectevnes towards the post war government whilst discussing the current commodification within heritage sites even though the fragmented visitor blames both the pre and post war regimes for the current commodification of the past.

#### **Interview # 3, Ivana Shkrobtsa: Government distortions of the past**

*"No, they did not try to distort heritage .. they just try to hide some aspects which would not be to their advantage if we were to know .... For instance that the Ustashe were criminals and that had concentration camps were they tortured and murdered people ... and how we genetically tried to cleanse ourselves because we think we are an perfect people which do not want to be soiled by foreign genes. ... you see we are supposed to think that we are an ideal people who do not have anything filthy within our heritage"*

#### **Interview #2: Renata Andriyolich : The government and heritage.**

*"Of course, well every government .. at least the last two that I have had the experience to see have just used heritage in order to serve their own ambitions ... so a piece of heritage that does not appeal to the government must not be taught at schools"*

**Int:** *"Have they distorted or purified the Croat past?"*

*"O yes.... Definitely yes ... television and government are ..... well let me make something clear to you, the government controls the media. When I was at school I had to learn about the Partisans and the Russians but now my sister does not know anything about all that, she*



*only learns about the civil war, the HDZ and basically whatever the government thinks that we should know”*

When questioned more specifically with regard to which political establishment has taken a more active role in heritage, the Fragmented visitor projected a powerful belief that the current regime has engaged in a more intensive role within heritage;

**Interview # 10, Danira Yelseka:** Which institution took a larger interest in heritage?

*“The new government has definitely taken a more active role in heritage”*

Goulding (1996) quotes Bennett (1988) who in his essay “Museums and People” discusses the developments and objectives of museums. He makes the point that while late nineteenth century museums were intended to be “for” the people, they were definitely not “of” the people. Minimal, if any attention was paid in portraying the true lives, habits and customs of the working classes. On the contrary, museums served to instil and perpetuate the power of the ruling classes by legitimising their role and position under the subtle guise of education. Bennet’s observation could not be more true with regard to the relationship of the elite and the manipulation of the past within post-war Croatia. Lowenthal (1985) argues that inevitably, most historical interpretation within heritage sites emphasises the glory of long gone days, exaggerating triumphs and events of nationalistic pride, while playing down the darker, less noble epochs. As a consequence of this selectivity many remade histories are narrowly chauvinistic, always excluding the alien (Serb) or other so as to emphasize national achievements. Seldom do we see memorials to failure. Never-the-less, while recognising that true interpretation can never be achieved, it is important to recognise the implications of restructuring history. Lowenthal maintains that these changes effect our historical environment. The glorified or “cosy” past conforms to our expectations, providing contemporary social systems with stimuli to excite our modern perceptions in a way that an unadorned past could never hope to. A interesting trait that emerged whilst studying the interview data of the participants that fabricated this category, is the actuality that almost all the participants critically questioned whether the representations of the past as projected by the sites, political regime and media are authentic or selective representations of a commodified heritage.

**Interview # 12, Tonchi Bibich:** Tonchi on interpretation and history.



*"It is normal that our government has taken a large interest in heritage because Communism never told the truth about our heritage, we have always had the anathema of being fascists and we still carry this burden today, in fact I also think that the rest of the world did not side with us when we needed them because of this. I truly and honestly believe that all this death could have been minimised if the superpowers had taken an interest in this earlier on. Croats have carried this burden for many years, I remember that in the former communist regime I had never heard of the Blaiburg massacre and I feel it is good that people are becoming aware of what really happened in the past but on the other hand there is the danger that the Partisans will become stereotyped as killers and that would be a tragedy... things need to be weighed up really we need to understand that the Partisans were anti Fascists and that was a good thing so Tito must be respected as a persona since he fought with the Partisans.*

*The government has involved itself in heritage in order to offer us a fresh or different view of our past .... I think that it is good for the government to be involved, the only question is how involved is it. As I said before we must be balanced .... I feel that what I was taught in the past was correct and what I am taught now is also correct .... All this trouble now is just a problem of interpretation, the interpretation of a historian which carries the influences of the individual that has written it ... we used to look at the British in a positive manner ... the British the brave , the unsinkable British fleet but let us not forget the Great Britain was and still is a colonial power and this is a negative point so it is only normal that the British interpret their history in a different way than we do, what I am trying to say is that many negative aspects of heritage were covered up and that is not a good aspect. I don't know the truth about heritage and I feel that we will never learn the truth .... There are many traditions, legends and mystification within heritage, it is difficult to say objectively that this is the way things happened"*

Furthermore, the Fragmented visitor appeared to be more determined/aware and willing to acknowledge the purpose commodification of heritage and the past as represented by heritage sites in the post-war period.

#### **Interview # 12, Tonchi Bibich: Tonchi on the Government and heritage**

*" The only question here though is in what way and how much does the government involve itself in heritage ... if we are to distort heritage then this is not good but how the government interprets and involves itself is another question, interpretation and re interpretation is the key question .... So I ask how much are they lying to us? Overall I believe that in heritage there were always falsities"*

#### **Language and the reconstruction of the past**

According to Hobsbawn (1996) all languages have elements of political self-assertion, which may become exaggerated when attempting to bring about regional secessionism and political independence by linguistic separatism. Moreover, concepts in discourse can be socio-culturally organised. In times of intercultural trouble, language concepts can be used to blame a cultural (sub) group which in the case of the former Yugoslavia concentrated on the



Serbs. Cultural interests can be served to defend threatened cultural identity or position, and potentially guilty behaviour excused. Shi Xu states that language was, is and shall always remain a flexible conceptual response for action (Shi Xu, 1996). Nadj (1996) supports the above and states that the Croatian language is the product of deliberate ideological engineering and manipulation of the past within the last decade of the twentieth century. The Fragmented consumer of heritage lends support and reinforces the above theorists in his/her statements. This group of individuals accepts and critically discusses both the 1945 and 1992-1996 manipulation of the Croatian spoken form. The blame for the commodification of the language is focused predominantly upon the post-war regime. Such behaviour lends support to Hobsbawn's (1996) language and political assertion theory and Nadj's (1996) Yugoslav linguistic manipulation theory,

***Interview #2: Renata Andriyolich: Thoughts on a modified language.***

*"Well from the beginning of the civil war us Croats must study the new Croatian language because we were not allowed to go on using the same language since it contained many Serbian words ... thus they changed everything into Croat... like lets say avion (aeroplane) was changed into zrakoplov... you see some stupidities that we never heard of before. You must understand that all this came from the government ... everything that was Serbian or fascist in the former regime is now a taboo subject"*

***Int:*** "Why do you think these changes were made? "

*"It came bit by bit .. but generally the idea was that we no longer want those Serbian words in our dictionary and we must start speaking Croat etc. etc"*

***Int:*** "Did people look down at you if you were not conforming to the new norms? "

*"Well in the beginning yes... but later on no, later on we kind of revolted against the stupidity of this new language"*

***Int:*** "Who initiated them the changes "

*"The politicians "*

***Int:*** "Do you think that this new language helps offer the Croats as a nation an exclusive or more acceptable past? "

*"No I don't in fact I feel that deep down it makes the Croats feel like an imbesilic nation. We understand that it is truly silly what we are allowing the government to do to us .... It's ludicrous allowing the government to tell us that we need to learn the Croatian language .. as if we don't know our own damned language, that's just plain stupidity. People have to some extent continued speaking the way that they used to but in books is were you see the big difference .. I don't want to read new books because there are so many words that I do not understand"*



The Fragmented Subject acknowledges the purpose manipulation of the Croatian spoken form, but on the other hand the fragmented visitor fervently emphasizes his/her indifference to the linguistic manipulations incurred within the post-war period.

**Interview # 3, Ivana Shkrobtsa:** Ivana on the new language.

*“This is purely and simply government manipulation. They did this because they have not managed to accomplished anything that they promised so with the use of the language they are trying to cover up ... these word never existed, they want Croats to think that they are great heroes that are trying to bring back the original Croat language ... they do this because they are incapable to develop the country in the correct areas .. economically ... spiritually”*

**Int:** *“Why do you think these changes were made?”*

*“Because of what I said”*

**Int:** *“How did these changes come about?”*

*“One day on TV some presenter turned around and said today it is no longer called a helicopter but a zrakomlat .. something that the Croats do not do .. today it is still called a helicopter and the word zrakomlat is laughed upon .. It's funny”*

**Int:** *“Do you think that this new language helps offer the Croats as a nation an exclusive or more acceptable past?”*

*“They laugh at the new language and further use the old spoken form”*

### War and identity reconstruction

Ethnicity is a sense of ethnic identity, which has been defined by De Vos as consisting of the “subjective, symbolic or emblematic use” by “a group of people of any aspect of culture, in order to differentiate themselves from other groups” or as Brass (1991) claims the last phrase could be altered to read “in order to create internal cohesion and differentiate themselves from other groups”. An ethnic group that uses cultural symbols in this way is a subjectively self-conscious community that establishes criteria for inclusion into and exclusion from the group. In the case of Croatia both definitions hold true, especially within the post civil war era. A consistently reoccurring theme within this category of behaviour was the distinct dislike of the Serb people. This intense dislike is directly related to the above theories. Conclusions regarding the need for a symbolic differentiation from the Serbs by the Croatian people are reached at this point since the core element for the inclusion within the Croat identity is the exclusion of the Serb ethnies. Some participants in their statements only



concentrated on cultural differences that demoted the Serbs whilst others displayed a more radical approach to the Serb element within the post-civil-war era.

**Interview # 2, Renata Andriyolich:** When questioned as to whether there are any ideological or physical characteristics that the Croats possess?

*"Yes .... The Croats you see are more of a European nation than the Serbs or Bosnians... they on the other hand are typical of what I expect of the Balkans."*

**Interview # 19, Julia Batalia:** Do you feel that there should be artefacts that remind the Croats of their previous link with the Serbs?

*"Well if there were Serb artefacts in this place then I would prefer them to be removed because ..... I hate those Serbs because they waged war against us in order to place their filthy feet in this place .....so that is why I would not like to see anything belonging to them in this place, I do not wish to see anything that remotely relates to them ..... No, no I would not"*

According to the Fragmented subject this intensive dislike of the Serbian people is based only on psychological/cultural differences between these two ethnicities. When questioned as to whether there are any physical characteristics that set apart these two nations all participants responded negatively.

**Interview # 10, Danira Yeleska:** Danira on distinct ideological and physical characteristics that the Croats possess?

*"I would say that the Serbs are temperamental just like us but are culturally not as evolved as we are and most importantly they carry within their genes a need for battle and aggression ... it is said that the Serbs are born with a dagger beneath their pillows, this fact has been proved by some research. They always suffered from a hallucination that they did not distort anything and have been victims throughout the course of history .... In the end both world wars have been linked to the Serbs"*

**Int:** "two not one?"

*"Yes both ... they had links in both and they just missed out in sparking of the third. I am not a nationalist nor an extremist, in fact I consider myself to be a normal individual ... I can't cope with either our or their extremes in character ..... I won't say that the Serbs are not people, they are people and some of them are truly wonderful people"*

The Fragmented subject on the one hand accepts but on the other critically questions the validity of the notion of this new found new post-war identity, in the following interview abstract one of the most enlightened participants that I had come across whilst on my first field trip to the Dalmatian coast interestingly acknowledges the newborn notion of self that



has been ascribed to himself through war (in the later part of the transcript), but on the other hand Tonchi rejects the very notion of ethnicity whilst undertaking a critical pursuit to uncovering a more enlightened sense of existence.

**Interview # 12, Tonchi Bibich:** Thoughts on what it means to be Croat

*“Well in these days it means nothing .... Who was it that said that the nationalistic feeling was the lowest form of emotion a man can feel ... was it Heidegger? .... I can't say that I am proud to be Croat, I am not ashamed to be Croat but I can't see the reason why I should be proud of this fact, it would not make a difference if I was Albanian or a Serb ... basically it means nothing to me. It is more important to myself to be a interesting individual rather than some Great Croat”*

*Int: “Has this changed since the Civil war?”*

*“I will tell you ... during the civil war I was proud to be a Croat but this is what is known as war pride ... look you have an enemy that has attacked your land .. they shout at us that we are Ustashe so it is only natural that one becomes a Croat with a capital “C” . so within the war when I am fighting the Serb invader it is normal for me to be a Croat as I have told you that during the former regime I never identified myself as being Yugoslav, I used to say to all that I was a Croat ... my mother is Croat and my father is Croat so what else is there for me to be ... not a Yugoslav for Gods sake!. Yugoslavia as a nation does not exist so I was a Croat at that time and I am a Croat now”*

As can be seen from the above, although the Fragmented visitor condemns the war they uphold a positively pro Croat stance. Almost as if out of obligation to do so.

Loss of power and Control

Stewart Hall (1994) discusses a distinctive type of structural change, which is transforming modern societies in the late twentieth century. This structural change, which in the case of Croatia took the form of civil-war has fragmented the cultural landscapes of class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, race and nationality which offered the pre-war subject a firm location as a social individual. These transformations are also shifting personal identities and undermining the subject's sense of self as an integrated subject. This loss of stable “sense of self” is sometimes called the dislocation or de-centring of the subject (Hall, 1994). This set of double displacements - de-centring individuals both from their place in the social and cultural world, and from themselves – constitutes a “crisis in identity” for the individual. The Croatian subject has over the flow of the last 10 years become de-centred or confused due to major de-centrings (civil-war/loss of ethnic identity/manipulation of the past/loss of



language) within the individual subject's conception of self and thus displays intense symbols of depowerment/loss of power and control;

**Interview # 10: Danira Yeleska: Perceptions of post war life**

*"Well I don't live well .. in fact I don't live well at all"*

*"Every year seems to be getting worse ... we are beginning to lose our moral. We can work through everything ... but we no longer hold on to one another and are beginning to devolve into territorial creatures who possess a loose moral fibre"*

**Interview # 3: Ivana Shkrobtsa: Perceptions of the past**

*"Financially they were much better, I prefer to call them the golden days ... but on the other hand you did not know who you were and if you knew you were not allowed to say..... I mean your nationality .. at home you were told that you were a Croat, then you would arrive at school where you would get your head pumped about how great Yugoslavia was. So as a child you were a confused personality"*

Nostalgia

The manipulation of a sequential past, the reconstruction of language, the effects of war upon the individual subjects conception of self and the loss of power and control have led the fragmented subject to a profound state of nostalgia with regard to the fiscal and operational benefits of the Yugoslav past.

Nostalgia is more than just memory; it is memory with the pain taken away. It involves a bittersweet longing for an idealised past which no longer exists (Davis, 1979). Although a plethora of information concerning the former Yugoslavia has surfaced within the past decade, and the nations political and sociological turmoil has very much been at the forefront of public debate not all operational, political and social aspects of the former Yugoslav Federation were necessarily displeasing to the fragmented subject. Many of the informants when asked about present day Croatia displayed powerful elements of Yugo nostalgia, and referred to a once superior financial situation and an incomparable public health system, many also discussed the rising levels of corruption among public servants and how money under the table seemed to be the only way to achieve upward mobility.

**Michael Reich, Interview # 1:**



*"The situation overall is unhealthy. We have one million unemployed people to look after, and one million pensioners, but on top of these, many employed people have not received their salary for up to seven months. Within the former communist regime when you were employed you had a job for life. Today there is great uncertainty. The vast majority do not live well, in fact they have a horrible standard of living"*

**Ivana Shkrobica, Interview # 3:**

*"Financially they were much better, I prefer to call them the golden days ..."*

**Martina Zekovich, Interview # 15:**

*"Well if I am to be honest with you then I would have to say that we used to have a much better quality of life"*

**Antonia Pavichin, Interview # 11:**

*"Well ... the past to me symbolises better days ... a better financial situation"*

When questioned about the past most informants shared positive memories, which have been construed as Yugo nostalgia:

**Renata Andriyolich, Interview # 2:**

*" Well it was definitively the good old days.... Because I have so many positive memories of that time... I had a fabulous childhood.... I needed nothing. I was protected economically, sociologically ... in every way, it was a much better life"*

**Danira Yeleska, Interview # 10:**

*" I used to have a better standard of life ..."*

**Yure Brikan, Interview # 14:**

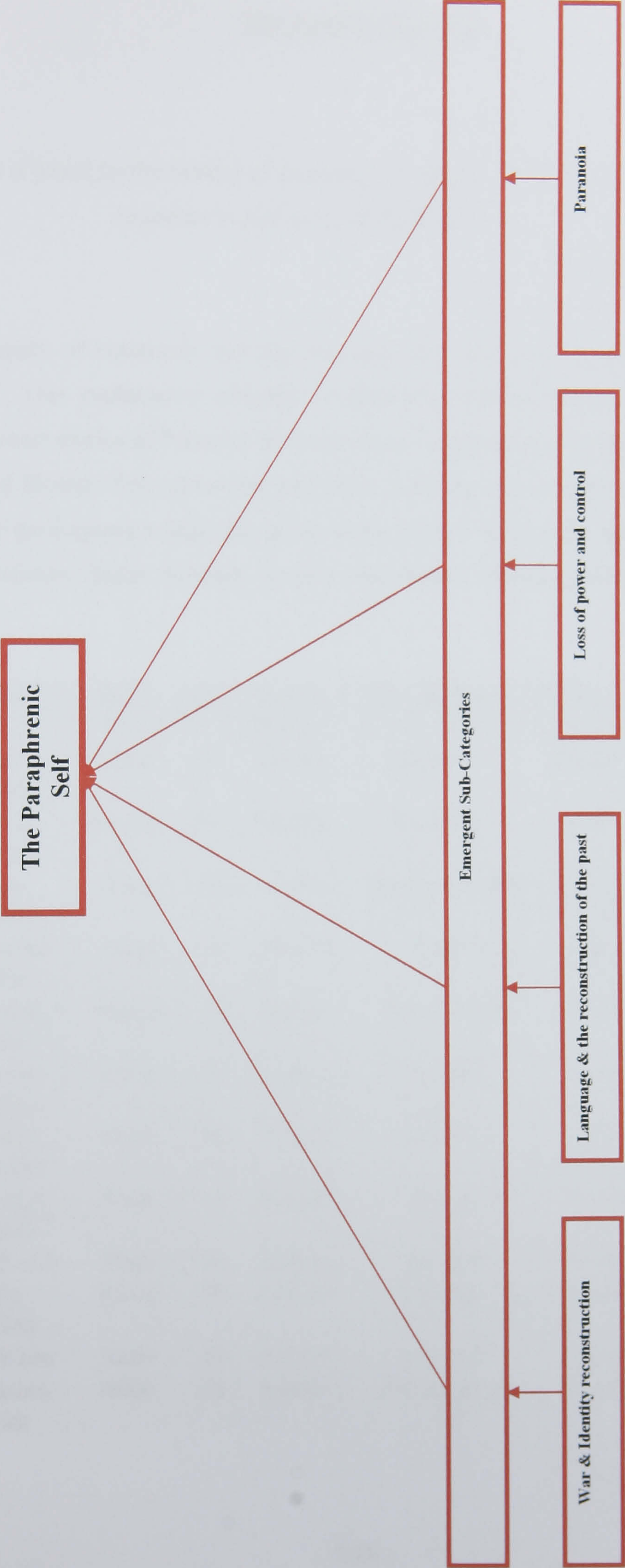
*"Well I was born in 79 and whilst growing up I met quite a few Serbs an I can honestly say that we didn't have any problems with each other. In comparison to the past the present looks really bad ... there are great differences in the standard of life"*

Despite this longing for the 'Good old days' very few of the individuals that comprised this group of participants would even consider a reunification with Yugoslavia, even the thought of a confederation brought about negative physical reactions from most of the participants.

On the whole the data strongly suggests that the fragmented visitor was not a passive one, individuals that fell within this category of behaviour were consistently comparing and contrasting the changes within heritage sites, social norms and government policy. This group of participants was the only explanatory category of behaviour, where the participants themselves stated and actively sought out changes within post civil war Croatia.



**Explanatory category # 2: The Paraphrenic Self**





## The Paraphrenic Self

“All nationalism is based on the fantasy of an enemy; no matter what he really does, his very existence is perceived as threatening”

(Povrzanovic, 1993 p 5)

The Second category of behaviour that has emerged from the data I have defined as the Paraphrenic Self. This explanatory category of behaviour bridges the gap between those displaying the characteristics of Paranoid Schizophrenia, Language and the Reconstruction of the Past, War and Identity Reconstruction and those suffering from a distinct loss in Power and Control. The participants within this group come from a fairly wide spectrum of social roles such as Musician, Sailor, Student, Teacher and Waiter amongst others (refer to table below).

| Number | Name              | Sex    | Age | Social Class | Occupation     | Town   | Prevailing Categorization |
|--------|-------------------|--------|-----|--------------|----------------|--------|---------------------------|
| 004    | Duye Dorich       | Male   | 20  | Lower        | Musician       | Trogir | Paraphrenic               |
| 005    | Sanya Domich      | Female | 34  | Middle       | Teacher        | Split  | Paraphrenic               |
| 007    | Cane Dorilich     | Male   | 102 | Lower        | Retired Sailor | Trogir | Paraphrenic               |
| 009    | Vyekoslav Dokic   | Male   | 60  | Middle       | Waiter         | Split  | Paraphrenic               |
| 022    | Suzanah Lilia     | Female | 29  | Middle       | Tour Guide     | Split  | Paraphrenic               |
| 023    | Miroslav Pavichin | Male   | 43  | Lower        | Sailor         | Trogir | Paraphrenic               |
| 024    | Ante Franich      | Male   | 21  | Upper        | Student        | Split  | Paraphrenic               |
| 025    | Nicola Santich    | Male   | 21  | Middle       | Sailor         | Trogir | Paraphrenic               |
| 031    | Petar Nakir       | Male   | 20  | Lower        | Student        | Split  | Paraphrenic               |
| 040    | Mile Dorich       | Male   | 50  | Lower        | Sailor         | Trogir | Paraphrenic               |
| 042    | Adel Koso         | Male   | 19  | Lower        | Painter        | Split  | Paraphrenic               |
| 043    | Christian Chuk    | Male   | 24  | Lower        | Unemployed     | Trogir | Paraphrenic               |



|                             |                              |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| Total Size 12: 27.9%        | Average age 39.4             |
| Male 83.3%: 10 participants | Female 16.6%: 2 participants |

Throughout the development of this thesis, the category of “Paraphrenic Self” has been the most difficult to present to other academics. Whenever I have presented this category at conference or presentation level, I have always come into direct conflict with a few members of the audience. I believe that the very notion of a freely mobile and un-institutionalised Paraphrenic provokes considerable doubt in the mind of my colleagues as to the validity of this category. Reber (1985, p 235) in his definition of Paranoid Schizophrenia states that “Unlike many other forms of schizophrenia, the patient is usually of relatively normal appearance and clean in habits and if the delusions are not acted on, impairment in functioning may be minimal”, thus it is perfectly acceptable for the minor segment that has been categorised as displaying the symptoms of Paraphrenia to be normally active citizens.

The Paraphrenic visitor emerged from the data as a middle range age group, having an average age of 39.4. The Paraphrenic visitor constituted the second largest category of behaviour (27.9%) emerging from the data and was mostly constituted by young to middle-aged men (83.3%) who clearly remember the former regime. Whilst the more intensive relationship with males and war could have associated this group of participants to the category of Paraphrenia, similarities were more evident in terms of anger, jealousy, pride, disassociation with anything Yugoslav, determination of new identity, confidence of no manipulation of heritage by the post-war regime, hatred of all that is Serb, suspicion in pre-war depiction of heritage, acceptance of only pre-war manipulation of spoken form and the degree of depowerment the subject expressed.

This group of heritage consumers have consistently displayed the fore-mentioned values with regard to their views concerning their sense of self. The category which is predominantly male discuss the fractures in historical sequence brought upon them by the pre civil war regime and display evident and intense signs of conviction as to their post-war individual sense of self and ethnicity



## War and identity reconstruction

National cultures are composed not only of cultural institutions, but of symbols and representations. A national culture according to Hall (1994) is a discourse – a way of constructing meanings which influences and organizes both our actions and our conceptions of ourselves (Hall & Gieben, 1992). National cultures construct identities by producing meanings about “the nation” with which we can identify; these are contained in the stories which are told about it, memories which connect its present with its past, and images which are constructed of it. The Paraphrenic visitor in an attempt to construct the cultural symbols/meanings which will act as the building blocks to the post-war identity, actively promotes a cultural/mental difference between the Croats and the Serbs and thus alienates all links with the pre-civil-war Serbian past in an attempt to construct an acceptable conception of the post-war self.

### **Interview # 4, Duye Dorich: Duye on Serb artefacts.**

*INT: “Were there any artefacts that invoked the Serb link to the Croats?”*

*“Yes there were”*

*INT: “Do you feel that there should be artefacts that remind the Croats of their previous link with the Serbs?”*

*“Let them get rid of all of it ... Serbs are a different people ... they attacked us, they killed us”*

Furthermore, this group of participants apart from insistently drawing attention to a Serb free conception of self and alienating the Serb nation from any post-war reality, passionately hated everything and anything that is linked to or could link themselves to the Serb people.

### **Interview # 9, Vjekoslav Dokic: Perceptions towards Serb artefacts.**

*“There was a small church in the centre .... What was it's name ..... Saint Save's, it was a small thing but at the moment it does not operate any more”*

*INT: “how do you feel about that church?”*

*“It's not right!, it's on my land!!!”*

*INT: “would you prefer that it did not exist?”*

*“Yes!”*

### **Vjekoslav's Feelings towards member of the antecedant Yugoslav Federation.**

*INT: “How do I feel about the Serbs?”*

*“Well they didn't do anything to me personal but I would like to fuck all their god damn mothers ... well I think it's best you erase what I have just said and state that I just don't like the bastards”*



Gallagher (1999) states that Yugoslav intellectuals, much like their Russian counterparts were also encouraged to explore the past and all too often invent glorious historical pedigrees meant to give the reborn Yugoslav nationalisms the inalienable right to enjoy contemporary greatness. The Paraphrenic subject reinforces Gallagher's (1999) views and states that the former regime held a larger interest in the heritage sector. The Paraphrenic subject states that since the very conception of a united Yugoslavia is false, the former government had to distort/restrain/ban individual ethnic pasts in order to keep the nation together, furthermore this group of participants firmly believe that the post WWII government had purposely fragmented the individual subjects conception of identity.

**Interview #13, Ivana Franich: Perceptions of the past.**

*"During the old regime we lived a lot better but on the other hand people were not free, people could not say that they were Croat in fear of persecution by the authorities. People were happier from a materialistic point of view but spiritually things were catastrophic. Things are better now... people are poorer but they have their own nationality and identity"*

**Interview # 4, Duye Dorich: Heritage at school.**

*"Yes .. yes now in school we learn about the Croat heritage which makes things interesting whilst before we were taught about Yugoslav heritage and a minimal amount about Croat heritage... I just want to know about my own heritage"*

Language and the reconstruction of the past

The absence of, or loss of a distinctive language has not prevented blacks in the USA or Celtic groups in the UK, or Non Hebrew, non Yiddish speaking Jews in the USA from acquiring or maintaining a sense of ethnic identity. The reason being, because the maintenance of their ethnic identity and language was not prohibited by the authorities, for the Croatian people in the former Yugoslavia though, it was. By the same token, over the centuries in Europe, old, fully standardized, written languages—Latin, Anglo Saxon, Provencal, Low German, Church Slavonic, Croatian – some of them spoken by peoples occupying compact geographical areas have been submerged while other languages have replaced or absorbed them (K. Deutsch, 1968), sometimes even by force as we have seen in



Yugoslavia. I can still recollect the early seventies in the former Yugoslavia and the forced change in language usage implemented by the federal system in Yugoslavia, we had to learn to speak correctly (or as the Serb majority did) and discontinue usage of old Croatian terms and phrases, this change in social policy infuriated people whilst subconsciously sustained even further fragmenting the Yugoslav subject. The Paraphrenic visitor to post civil war heritage sites reinforces Deutsch (1968) and acknowledges and discusses only the 1945 onward manipulation of the Croatian spoken form, all changes made to the language after liberation (1996) are considered to be natural and aimed at removing all Serb elements from a once pure spoken form. The Paraphrenic visitor believes that the previous government perversely distorted the past and language, and actively promotes the current manipulation of the Croat spoken form.

**Interview # 4, Duye Dorich:** Duye on the new language

*"Now the language has become more normal than it was ... it is not true Croat but it is more original ... there are a few lies in it but overall it has emerged from our heritage, the old way of speaking was banned by the communists after the second world war"*

*INT: "How did these changes come about?"*

*"TV mostly ... there was a programme on television called "words" it was run by a Dr. Ladan .. it generally aimed at teaching the Croatian nation the correct way to speak"*

*INT: "Do you think that this new language helps offer the Croats as a nation an exclusive or more acceptable past?"*

*"I think that we are a unique and very original people .. this language just reinforces that perception of ourselves"*

**Interview # 5, Sanja Domich:** Perceptions of a new language.

*"This is the original form of the language, I can prove this through old books .. we know that there are many jokes that concentrate on the new Croat spoken form ... first of all we got rid of all Serbian words ... there are words though that are the same in both languages and they remained the same , the only thing that has changed with common words is the pronunciation ..... some old words have been brought back, not new ones just old words that have been forgotten, I will show you in a few books were these words have been found"*

Due to the fore mentioned distortions, manipulations and constraints, which the pre-war Croatian subject has experienced following WWII the Paraphrenic subject displays intense and unfocused emotions of anger. According to Reber (1985) a central element to the condition of Paraphrenia is anger. Anger was a common theme throughout this category, all of the participants displayed intense and unfocused anger whilst being interviewed, at times the emotion of anger was even centred at myself. Levels of anger often escalated to levels



where I felt to be at danger at physical level. This occurrence was quite frequent whilst interviewing this group of heritage visitors.

**Interview # 43, Christian Chuk:**

*“ The Serb bastards ... they all deserve to die ... all of the f\*#!g bunch!! Haven't you ever felt that you wanted to kill someone? ... feel them die in your hands??!!!”*

*Christian although very young is a veteran of the civil war, his reactions and thoughts made me particularly nervous whilst in his presence.*

Apart from the passionate emotions of anger the Paraphrenic subject displays an intense jealousy towards the west. During the months that I have spent with these people I have come to the conclusion that this unfocused jealousy is centred around the depleted living standards and hunger experienced by the post-war subject in relation to a relative and escalating standard of living experienced in western nations. The Paraphrenic subject displays an intensive drive to lower and ridicule the Western subject, almost as if in an endeavour to bring them down to his own playing field and level whilst attempting to make their post-war tragedy more acceptable.

**Interview # 31, Petar Nakir:**

*“The West?? ... the West is made up of nations that posses an inferior moral fibre ....the West is interested in us, and always was, because we have what they can only dream of in terms of national beauty. They cannot stand to see what they can never posses so they have always tried to break us”*

**Interview # 19, Adel Koso:**

*Who do you people think you are (Westreners)? You have only survived because you have taken the best scientists from us and learned from them. Look at NASA and the space programme ... it has succeeded because it has been built on the backs of foreign scientists that you have stolen from these parts after WWII .... and now you people think you are high and mighty? You are actually nothing .... just slime ... nothing more than slime. The West does not get it yet ... we are just mentally superior and that is why you feel that you must destroy us ...because you fear that we may destroy you!!*

Loss of power and control



Mann states that “You have ideological power if you ‘monopolize a claim to meaning’, ‘monopolize norms’, and ‘monopolize ‘aesthetic/ritual practices’” (Mann, 1986 p22). According to Hobsbawn (1983) traditions are invented in order to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour. They can, however, be reinvented when they have served their purpose or lost their meaning. In much the same way, images of the past can be used as a means of maintaining power and control in the present. The post-war Croatian subjects that constituted the behavioural category of “Paraphrenia” display the over signs of depowerment/loss of power and control due to the reinvention and constant flux of tradition, meaning and cultural norms as projected by regimes that strongly differ in political ideology.

**Interview # 7, Cane Dorilich: Perceptions of the past.**

*“Well for some they were good for some bad ... for me they were hard days because I had to travel the world to gain my daily bread, I started sailing when I was 19 so in my opinion it was good for many people, those who got government housing and .... I don't want to go into that. I never had anything from either regimes, but the two governments are not the same, neither are the two establishments, before we lived much better”*

**Interview # 9, Vjekoslav Dokich: Sad memories of a bitter old man.**

*“Yes of course I do (very sarcastic at this time, big sadistic grin on his face) my work always allowed me the time to visit these wonderful sites (his irony is becoming transparent at this time) my work assured that I was busy throughout the day, as for free time ... well that was given to me whenever they felt like it”*

If we are to accept the ideological manipulation in tradition, meaning and cultural norms as stated by Mann (1986) & Hobsbawn (1983), the Paranoid delusions of persecutory grandeur projected by the post-war Paraphrenic visitor can viewed as a normal side effect of tampering with the past though the contribution of the so-called national awakeners (Galagher, 1991).

**Interview # 9, Vjekoslav Dokich: Perception of his past**

*“Ha .... Little one.. you would have to know our heritage to understand this ... but I will tell you in brief. They wanted us, in Belgrade there is a huge church .. the patriarchy ....behind the altar there is a map of what they consider to be great Serbia, this is how the Orthodox people view great Serbia to be. The orthodox believed that in 1988,89 there will come the French seven ..... in Belgrade there is a street called French street ... the number seven signifies the house number were they met, here met great artists, actors and all who had influence. The French seven planned at that time to conquer the whole of Croatia, and that is how the war started ..... and that is what I mean by the French seven, they wanted it all from Karlovach to Karlobak ... that was all to be Serbian ground ... Dubrovnik was to fall under Montenegro . the French seven aspired to create links with a Fascist Italian*



*underground organisation with which it agreed to offer Istria in exchange for there help throughout the following war"*

Since the Paraphrenic visitor accentuates the suffering incurred by the displacement/loss of the central self through the last two fractures in historical time and political regimes, the Paraphrenic subject attempts to solidify and firmly embed his/her conception of post-war self through the projection of intense emotions of pride in the new found ethnic identity.

**Interview # 4, Duye Dorich:** Duye on what it means to be Croat.

*"Well .... Pride"*

**INT:** *"Has this changed since the Civil war?"*

*"I feel complete now, after the liberation I mean"*

*Duye on ideological and physical characteristics that the Croats posses?*

*"Yes we are better than them. We are more intelligent .. but when it comes to physical characteristics I think it is almost impossible to tell apart one Slav nation from another"*

**Interview # 7, Cane Dorilich:** Impressions of what it means to be Croat

*"..... Personally .....am a great nationalist, these are my people, I am an extremist and I am proud to have my nation ..... an independent nation"*

As a result of pride in the new identity the Paraphrenic visitor attempts to authenticate and solidify the post 1996 heritage scene as depicted by the post civil war government and media. This group of visitors have in a sense blocked out and selectively cleansed the very possibility of political manipulation/commodification of the past whilst undertaking a conscious attempt to firmly embed and reinforce their very conception of a "Cartesian" like stable and logical "self" within the post civil war order.

**Interview # 9, Vjekoslav Dokich:** Thoughts on authenticity.

*"Nothing has been changed within the palace ... nothing has been made to look prettier ... they are how they used to be, they are just deteriorating .... Whether Split will have the money to restore these ancient relics is the question ... one day everything will fall deteriorate and fall to pieces"*

**INT:** *"Has the representations within this site changed or developed (cleansed) since the beginning of the civil war?"*

*"Yes ... they are digging further into the palace ... bit by bit the dig clean and renovate but this is very little ... too little in order to objectively uncover all of the palace and restore it properly ... to little is being out into it"*

*"The names of streets have changed in the palace but that is normal since every government renames the streets according to their heroes but that is not important"*



As a result the Paraphrenic visitor firmly believes in the authenticity of the heritage site he/she is visiting and states that there have been no changes to the sites or the representations at hand.

**Interview # 5, Sanja Domich:** Perceptions of the government's role in heritage

*"Yes .. before the war that is .. now people are smart enough to know their heritage so they can not lie to us any more. Before the war it was difficult to get information on our heritage, you used to try hard to obtain a piece of data but you were never sure of it's authenticity, but now you have so many people involved in heritage including foreign news organisations like CNN that make it impossible for a deceitful approach towards heritage to take place any more"*

**Interview # 4, Duye Dorich:** Thoughts on authenticity.

*"No .. not at all ... well there is a bit of marketing in all this now"*

**INT:** *"Has the representations within this site changed or developed since the beginning of the civil war?"*

*"Yes ... for example there is more being built within town ... more businesses opening up within town"*

As can be seen from the above, although the Paraphrenic visitor condemns any notions of post war cleansing or manipulation of heritage sites, the subject upholds a positively pro Croat and pro war stance.

## Paranoia

Throughout the initial descriptive and later interpretive analysis of the data it became apparent that the symptoms of Paranoia (anger, anxiety, jealousy, argumentativeness) were consistently reoccurring in various extents within almost all of my interview transcripts.

**Interview#7 Cane Dorilich:** Paranoid delusions of persecution

*"I know why you want me ... you are a party member!! They sent you to get me, you just want me to say something that is wrong and then you and the rest of the HDZ shit are going to lock old Cane up!!!!"*

**Interview # 9, Vkejoslav Dokich:** Anger

**INT:** *"How do I feel about the Serbs?"*



*“Well they didn’t do anything to me personal but I would like to fuck all their god damn mothers ... well I think it’s best you erase what I have just said and state that I just don’t like the bastards”*

**Memo of interview # 5, Sanya Domich: Jealousy**

*After the end of the interview Sanya became quite aggressive, she made comments on the superiority of the Croat way of life in comparison to the inferior West, a central theme to her aggression were Western educational institutions which she claimed took mediocre local students which in time became their prize exhibits (sanya feels that the Eastern educational system is superior in all ways that’s why mediocre local students become stars in the west). Sanya was understandably bewildered when I informed her of the bribe system at University level and denied any such happening even when she was confronted by a few former interviewees that were made to pay such bribes.*

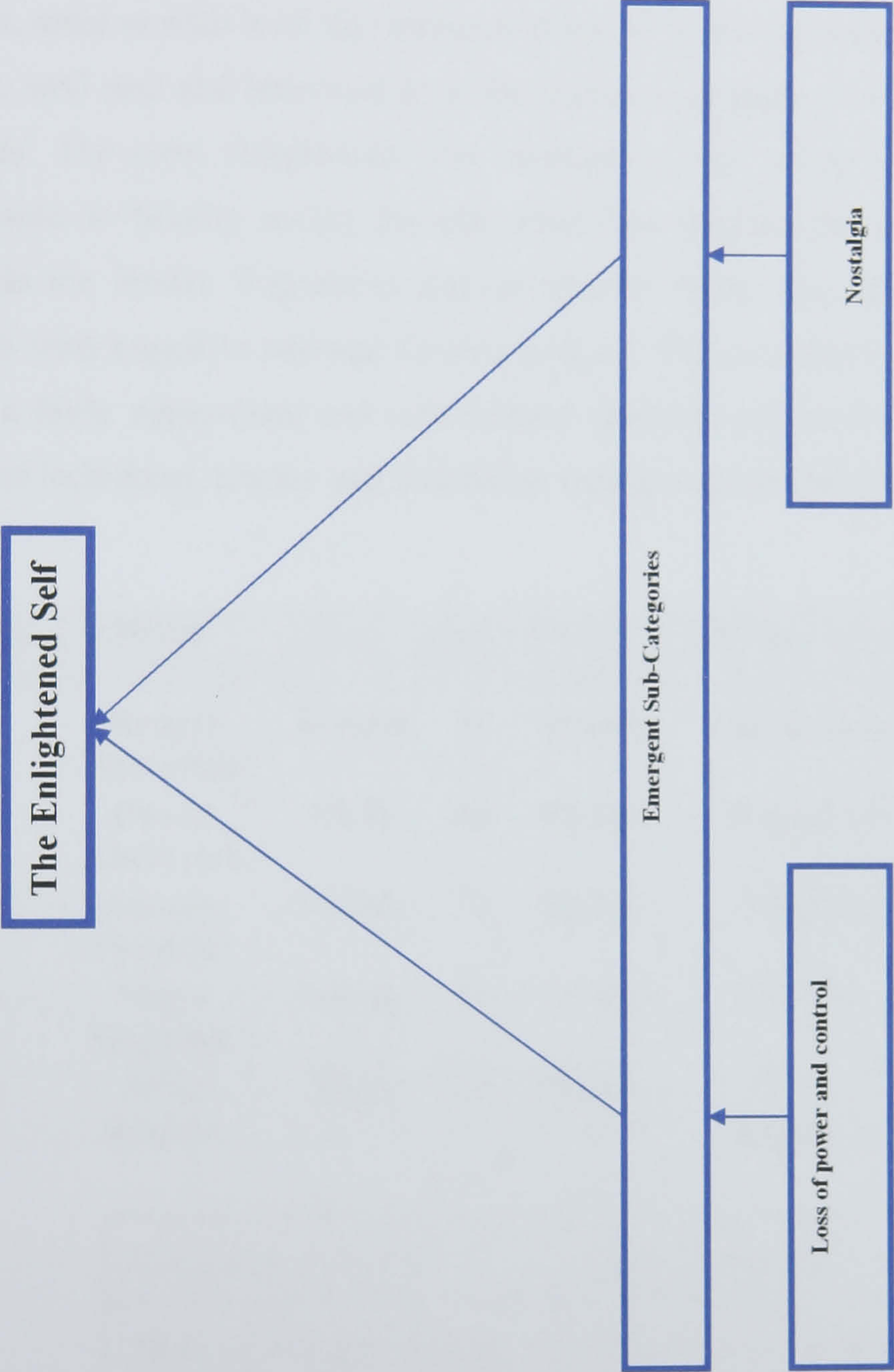
I would like to be very clear at this points and state that I do not classify the Croat nation as suffering from the clinical form of Paranoid Schizophrenia but only from Paranoid like symptoms which are associated with the post war effects of identity reformulation and purification which can in a sense be anticipated and considered natural for a society that has recently experienced such major political and social upheavals (Denitch, 1996).

On the whole the data strongly suggests that the Paraphrenic visitor was in a sense what I would classify as a “passionately” passive one. Individuals that fell within this category of behaviour never compared or contrasted the changes within heritage sites before and after the civil war, social norms and government policy, they viewed all this as a natural continuation of the WWII argument between the Croat Ustashe and the Serb Chetniks. There were powerful and overt indications of Paraphrenia, fragmentation and of searching for meaning, which resulted in the construction of an acceptable/ideal past.

To conclude I would like to state that this group of participants constructed the only explanatory category of behaviour, where the participants were outwardly aggressive, insulting and physically dangerous at times.



Explanatory Category # 3: The Enlightened Self





### The Enlightened Self

The third and last category of behaviour I have defined as the Enlightened self. This explanatory category bridges the gap between those displaying the characteristics of Nostalgia and those suffering from a distinct loss in Power and Control. To argue that this group display the overt characteristics of selective alienation (enlightenment) might at first glance, seem at odds with this category since all of the participants that constructed it were aware, well read and informed as to the historical changes within the post war and pre war periods. The term enlightened was ascribed to this group of individuals due to their reluctance to blindly accept the post civil war propaganda, level of nostalgia projected towards the former Yugoslavia and its member states, and wish to remain objective and critical with regard to national identity politics. The participants within this category come from a fairly upper-class and well-defined spectrum of social roles such as defectologist, medical technician, teacher and electrician amongst others (refer to table below)

| Number | Name             | Sex    | Age | Social Class | Occupation         | Town   | Prevailing Categorization |
|--------|------------------|--------|-----|--------------|--------------------|--------|---------------------------|
| 006    | Renata Shirovich | Female | 35  | Middle       | Defectologist      | Split  | Enlightened               |
| 008    | Daniel Aluyevich | Male   | 66  | Middle       | Electrician        | Split  | Enlightened               |
| 011    | Antonia Pavichin | Female | 23  | Middle       | Student            | Trogir | Enlightened               |
| 036    | Maya Rogulich    | Female | 43  | Middle       | Teacher            | Trogir | Enlightened               |
| 038    | Josip Svalina    | Male   | 27  | Middle       | Medical Technician | Split  | Enlightened               |

|                         |                           |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| Total size: 5,11.6%     | Average age 38.8          |
| Male 40% 2 participants | Female 60% 3 participants |

The Enlightened Self was the smallest category within the sample, consisting of only 11.6% of the total sample population. This category is predominantly female (60%) and held the



highest age grouping within all three explanatory categories. The average age of the participants that constructed this category is 38.8. Whilst, at an initial level, the relationship of age (maturity) and the enlightened stance the visitor upheld could have associated this group of participants to the category of Enlightenment. Similarities were more evident in terms of higher educational level (intellect), well read, capability to critically compare and contrast the past and present, search for authenticity, acknowledgment of both pre and post war manipulation of the spoken form (although they do not condone it), indifference to new identity, belief in commodification/manipulation of the past, objectivity, the higher level of nostalgia projected towards the former Yugoslavia and its members, low levels of anger, association of the Croats and Serbs as one people and the degree of depowerment the subject expressed.

One of the most interesting observations that I have come to whilst grouping the data is the actuality that this group of participants was probably the easiest to approach, one of the most willing to speak to myself and unquestionably the least suspicious of my motives. Essentially this group is predominantly constituted of older individuals who remember the old regime and are experiencing difficulty, or, are repudiating to acclimatize themselves to the new status quo as projected by the post civil war regime.

The members of this group displayed compelling indications of a higher intellect and superior educational background than the other two categories of behaviour. These participants demonstrated the capability to think in a critical and progressive manner and were well read and knowledgeable about their heritage and past.

#### Loss of power and control

One of the most predominantly emergent themes derived from interviewing this group of participants is related to the individual subjects belief in a corrupt present. Narratives relating to the present fraud at state level, sub human living standards and a distinct and powerful loss of power and control were exemplified by the participants.

**Interview # 6, Renata Shirovich: Perceptions on the present.**



*"Now ... the present ... it is so sad, well my family had no losses during the war ... but when I think about the rest ... many families ended up without fathers, children and many family members ...for them it must be terrible to see what is happening today, you see they and my husband included did not fight for this shameful situation in Croatia ..it is a pity. Things could have been so much better by now ..... I understand that we were at war and things must be bad for a while, but why is it that a small number of ex party member have become multi millionaires and the majority are suffering .. not being able to feed themselves and eating out of rubbish dumps"*

**Interview # 8, Daniel Aluyevich: Perception of the present**

*"... I went to Mirovina in 1984 with a salary of 1800 marks .... And now my salary is 500 marks ..... this is not just myself but everyone that you see around here, apart from some who did not have enough money to buy themselves a winter coat and now they are buying shipbuilding factories, they are buying anything that moves these people are buying complete islands !! ...but this cannot be so, the government in this new Croatia is allowing one to hardly be able to feed himself but they tell him "listen you now have a free Croatia" but who would not want to see a free and independent Croatia? Isn't that so, but why should you be able to buy and expand as you wish, take my land, illegally build wherever you wish whilst you don't even allow me to feed my family. This is the way things are now, I think that in Socialism it is not easy to enter into capitalism, it is difficult, you get used to a certain social balance and all of a sudden you are in a situation were someone who is more intelligent and aware takes all from himself and the poor and honest individual get robbed blind"*

Krawchenko (1985, p.242) reflects on how Ukrainian similarly to Croatian was forbidden in schools both as a language of instruction and as a subject in the hope that with time the national identity of the Ukrainian similarly to that of the Croat nation would melt in the mixing pot and that national heritage would in some way combine to form a great Russia and Yugoslavia. The Russian authorities banned the publication of Ukrainian language books. This abolition extended also to the use of Ukrainian on the stage, the instruction of any subject in Ukrainian within elementary schools, and even to books in Ukrainian which had to be removed from school libraries (Subtelny, 1988 p.283). Similarly the Serb government of the time undertook it's very own pre civil war manipulation of the language and outlawed the instruction of Croat history and the publication of books written by known Croatian nationalists in fear that this would awaken a dormant nationalism and evoke a violent reaction towards the concept of the Yugoslav federation. Following the 1991 break from the federal Yugoslav state the polemic regime began changing the language to a supposed original form. The Alienated subjects whilst discussing the new language state that although they do acknowledge the new spoken form, they question the validity and authenticity of the changes to the language. Overall the Enlightened visitor does not accept nor condone the



linguistic manipulation of the Croat spoken form, which has further depowered the post war subject.

**Interview # 8, Daniel Aluyevich: Perceptions of a new language**

*"Listen ..... maybe if I was two hundred years old I would not laugh at some of these new words because that is how long ago they were in use but now I laugh at the changes, I won't even mention how the younger generation have reacted ..... you now that the Croats always wanted to have something they could call their own and that is because they had always lived under foreign rule, for example how are the months named in Croat? 80 percent of the population use the English language to name months since it is a language that is more or less dominant in the world stage ... but us Croats have our own way because we were always farmers, so we called the months by the farm work that needed to be done at that time ... Szyechan is the month when we cut wood, Ruyanka when all is in blossom, Studenik is when the cold comes and Prosinats when we go to beg before the new year that is how we are ... at that time one had to beg in order to be able to eat chicken for new years which you could not normally eat despite the fact that you grew chickens, so you see now this is how we according to our poor way of life have even named the months of the year"*

**Interview # 11, Antoonia Pavichin: Perceptions of a new language.**

*"Well ..... some changes were welcomed because they arose from a need in the souls of the people. In school we never learned these words but at home we used them ... some words though I must acknowledge I have never heard of before .... I think these unheard of words are silly they just make the language complex ... these words will never be accepted by the people they just represent a transitional phase that we are going through"*

Stevenson (2000, p6) states that "in the early 1990's Croatia became a nation without a memory, defined only by its perceived opposition to Serbian aggression. Even president Tudgman climbed to power by rewriting the past and thus reinvented himself as a nationalist statesman, not simply another former Yugoslav general skilled in the choreography of heritage". The Enlightened subject reinforces Stevenson (2000) and acknowledges the media and government manipulation of the past although the post civil war subjects that construct this category of behaviour, do not condone such manipulation.

**Interview # 11, Antonia Pavichin: Tudgman and the past.**

*"No .... You know what ... the only usage of heritage comes from Tudgman who keeps reinforcing his beliefs that this war is the greatest thing that we have done ... I feel that he is trying to wrap up the eyes of the people ..... OK .... But lets go further lets talk about how people live now ... not a word of this. When the average citizen listens to these so called speeches he thinks " wow this is truly great" they keep trapping the people through the use of their own emotions ... they keep telling us that we belong to a sovereign nation, that we are Croat and that we are truly free and nothing else is important ... it is insignificant how people live who studies and who has the capabilities of progressing in life. It is only the class of people that is in government that have the possibility to make something out of their own lives ... as for the rest well....."*



Furthermore, apart from acknowledging the post civil war manipulation of heritage the Enlightened subject reinforces the actuality that the past has been commodified by both the pre and post civil war regimes. This group of participants acknowledges the manipulation of heritage calmly, with an air of tranquillity and indifference at times.

**Interview # 6, Renata Shirovich:** Perceptions on media and heritage.

*“Victors throughout history have always dictated heritage, he who had won always altered the facts in order to suite him so you see heritage has never been authentic”*

**Interview # 8, Daniel Aluyevich:** Daniel on government intervention within heritage.

*“Well listen ..... if Serb heritage was in question then the previous government took a much larger interest because in that old government there were three Serbs and one Croat, this fourth individual though was not necessarily Croat ..... it could have been a Slovenian or a Macedonian or anyone else”*

*“ The Serbs used to put the brakes on our heritage, not only us .. they did the same to the Slovenians and the Macedonians .... They always used to say that Macedonia was Eastern Serbia ... it seems that they could never come to terms with the fact that this is Macedonia. Dalmatia they thought belonged to them ... that is why we Dalmatians are most upset with them, Dalmatia is where we had our kings ... Dalmatia is the heart of Croatia”*

**Variations in museum within the post war period.**

*“Well listen most museums that concentrated on Yugoslavia were left to decay or destroyed ..... now we concentrate all our efforts on what we know from history to be Croatian, we are putting a lot of money into this .... I read the papers every day and apparently the government is investing a large part of the budget into heritage. We have created more roads after the war then Yugoslavia ever did, at least three times as much. We did mostly target churches .... Especially churches that are over 500 years old .... “*

Goulding (1997, p 290) in her thesis concentrates upon contemporary consumer behaviour within British heritage sites and discusses the emergence of a behavioural category labelled as the “existential self”, this group of visitors paid particular attention to “surface detail” specifically when addressing the issue of authenticity. The Enlightened visitor shares the above behavioural characteristics and mostly questions the authenticity of the representations of the past in the heritage sites due to time and wear, and places minimal emphasis upon selective representation and government distortions of the relics within the site although such distortions were not ruled out.

**Interview # 8, Daniel Aluyevich:** Perceptions of authenticity

*“No .... All the outside walls are authentic but overall so much inside of the palace has been demolished, but my opinion which I want to make clear is that they should throw out*



*all the people that are currently living in the palace ... but in order to do so you need money, and rebuild everything so that it can be as it once was ...and the centre of the palace should become a cultural centre with maybe even faculties of the University inside”*

*“ It should be forbidden to build anything inside the palace or for people to live inside, because those people who move in they make the place look dirty and destroy parts of the palace. The original inhabitants of Split have long ago moved out of this part of the city and now we see people moving in from villages who have no respect for the palace as a heritage site .... The villager comes around and sees some old stone which someone put there a couple of hundred years ago ... this person will break it and take it back to the village to look at”*

**Interview # 6, Renata Shirovich:** Renata’s thoughts on authenticity.

*“You mean has it changed ... well of course it has to have been altered through 1700 years, around the 1600’s people moved in to the palace and made pieces of it into apartments, but on the other hand the heritage aspect of the palace has not been altered and that is why it is so valuable”*

**INT:** *“Has the representations within this site changed or developed (cleansed) since the beginning of the civil war?”*

*“You mean has it been bombarded? .. no .. the only other changes that I can think of is that after the war they changed the names of streets that had Serb origins, yes that is true but on the other hand they did the same to the whole city”*

## Nostalgia

In keeping with Davis’s (1979) analysis, the roots of nostalgia tend to be located within the context of the present, but it was also found that the reaction can be triggered by fears and uncertainties over the future. This group of participants displayed overt symptoms of nostalgia whilst discussing the Serbs. Some participants were indifferent to the Serbs whilst others stated that they quite liked them in fact. Overall this group of participants held the capability to acknowledge the Serbs strong points as an ethnos.

**Interview # 8, Daniel Aluyevich:** Thoughts on distinct ideological and physical characteristics that the Croats possess?

*“Well ... there are many aspects that set apart the Croats from the Serbs .... For instance there are many things that set apart us from the Slovenians, for example when you go to Slovenia you instantly realise that the Slovenians refuse to speak Croat to you ... so if a Croat goes to Slovenia he must have a basic knowledge of Slovenian but on the other hand when they come over to Croatia, and if it is in their interest then they speak perfect Croat”*

*“ Serbs are a people which possess a special mentality, I have been around them quite a bit even on vacations and we used to get along wonderfully. We used to get together and sing but the Serb must always be the boss though ... that is that .... Overall they are happy and social people and even better at some things such as humour ...”*



Furthermore the Enlightened subject requests that if there were Serb artefacts in Croatia that they be left at peace to act as a reminder that these two nations once lived as one.

**Interview # 6, Renata Shirovich:** Renata on Serb artefacts within the palace and her emotions towards heritage and politics.

*"If they were there then yes, if they existed then they need to be left alone .. that is all heritage and I am extremely anti any meddling within heritage .. why should it be removed. After the second world war the partisans destroyed all representations of fascism, that is a tragedy .. we used to have a wonderful fountain on the riva and they dynamited it .. that fountain was a work of art, the reason they gave for destroying It was that it reminded them of the Italians ... but what the hell do the Italians have to do with our art? How can a fountain represent fascism? It is just art"*

**Interview # 11, Antonia Pavichin:** Antonia on Serb artefacts

*"I personally would like to see Serbian remains if they signified the fact that our two nations lived as one"*

**Interview # 8, Daniel Aluyevich:** Thoughts on the existence of Serb Artefacts

*"Well listen as a Croat maybe I don't think as all Croats but I think that if these two religious beliefs found common ground 100 years ago and these people lived together at some time then these artefacts must be respected"*

The Enlightened subject projected a fervent belief in the conviction that there are no ideological or physical dissimilarities between the Serbs and the Croats.

**Interview # 6, Renata Shirovich:** Renata on ideological variations between Serbs and Croats.

*"No .. only with these fucking imbesilic old monkeys and the chetniks ... but I can say that ninety percent of the people are fine, I have even now friends that are Serbs"*

In addition the Enlightened visitor feels that within the contemporary era it can only be objective to articulate distinctions between good and bad individuals and not between good and bad nations.

**Interview # 6, Renata Shirovich:** Thoughts on what it means to be Croat

*"I accept all colours, nationalities and religions .. what does it matter who people are"*

**Interview # 11, Antonia Pavichin:** Feelings towards other members of the former Yugoslav Federation.



*"I have a few cousins in Serbia and I have been surrounded by mixed marriage individuals all my life which I did not even know were Serbs ... towards these people I feel pity since they did not deserve all this. I would prefer it if we had some kind of a diplomatic relationship with them ... like two neighbouring republics ... I would like it if we lived normally, if they could come here and if we could go there"*

Hall (1994) states that national cultures are composed not only of cultural institutions, but of symbols and representations. A national culture according to Hall (1994) is a discourse – a way of constructing meanings which influences and organizes both our actions and our conceptions of ourselves (Hall & Gieben, 1992). National cultures construct identities by producing meanings about “the nation” with which we can identify with; these are contained in the stories which are told about it, memories which connect its present with its past, and images which are constructed of it. As Benedict Anderson (1983) argued, national identity is an imagined community. The Enlightened visitor reinforces the above theorists and minimally connects with the post war symbols, images, meanings and representations of national culture and shares a minimal sense of ethnic pride in the aforementioned elements of nationalism. The Enlightened visitor tended to associate themselves as a member of the human race rather than a member of the Croatian ethnos.

**Interview # 6, Renata Shirovich:** Thoughts on what it means to be Croat.

*"No not at all, I mostly feel like a citizen of this planet and to myself all people are the same, I accept all colours, nationalities and religions .. what does it matter who people are"*

According to Hall (1994) the question of “identity” is being vigorously debated in social theory. In essence, the argument is that the old identities, which stabilized the social world for so long are in decline, giving rise to new identities and thus fragmenting the modern individual as a unified subject. These new identities are showing themselves in all geographical areas, mostly in the eastern block but also in the west (Scotland’s recent separation from British control). This so called “crisis of identity” is seen as part of a wider process of change which is dislocating the cultural structures and processes of modern societies and undermining the frameworks which gave individuals a stable anchorage in the social world. The Enlightened group of participants which, have undergone the process of fragmentation and dislocation reinforce Hall’s theory, although this group connects with,



and accepts the new identity when pressured the subject does so with an air of indifference at times and does not place intensive emphasis upon the new conception of self.

**Interview # 6, Renata Shirovich:** Thoughts on what it means to be Croat.

*"me? .. I was born having this identity so I have never thought about it ... it's like me being born having been given this name, there is no use in thinking about it"*

**Interview # 8, Daniel Aluyevich:** Daniel's thoughts on what it means to be Croat.

*"Well listen ... what it personally means to myself .... I am glad to be Croat .... I wouldn't appreciate it if someone was to come up to me and say " if you were a German you would have more" , I have my house, my country and that's enough"*

*" I am proud to be Croat ... my folks are from Split, in fact one of the oldest families around but my mother is from Podravina so both of them are from Croatia but from two different parts of the country. She is from east Croatia and my father is from Dalmatia (the coast) and these are two links that are as Croatian as can be ... as people say that is. I am proud to be Croat as I have said to you but one cannot live on pride and die a hungry man!"*

**Interview # 11, Antonia Pavichin:** Antonia on what it means to be Croat

*"To me? Wow what a question .... I belong to a peaceful people .... We wish to have piece with all around us. We must forget our past experiences with our neighbours and strive to find a compromise with the".*

*"I feel proud to be Croat ... I would change various aspects of our mentality and lifestyle but overall I am glad to be a member of this society"*

Overall the data strongly suggests that the Enlightened visitor was the most objective of all the participants within the study. At an initial glance the Enlightened visitor might appear to be socially alienated from the post war order. The key element to this category of behaviour is the term "Voluntary Alienation" which was ascribed to this behavioural category due to the participants unwillingness to connect with what they consider to be a fragmented and commodified past and heritage. At personal level this was the most enjoyable group of individuals to spend time with and study, because the experience was exceptionally rewarding in terms of the wealth of information and valuable insights into post polemic Croatia that these participants disclosed.



## Summary

Within this chapter I have developed the ideas that have emerged from the data. In this chapter I have regrouped those concepts that have explanatory power and were recurring in nature, and I have redefined them in relation to three distinct categories of behaviour that were the result of close reflexive interrogation of the data. This appraisal called for a reduction in the number of sub categories, from an original six to an “explanatory” three. These three distinct behaviours were expanded upon and the links between sub category and explanatory category level were defined. The three explanatory categories of behaviour were grouped under the following headings:

- 1) “Fragmented”. This label defines the nature of confusion and loss in a post civil war era that typified this behaviour. The Fragmented subject was moderately temperamental, selectively nostalgic of the pre war era, but also very proud of the post 1996 national identity. The Fragmented visitor acknowledged both the pre and post civil war manipulation of the past by both regimes but assigned most of the blame upon the post civil war government.
- 2) “Paraphrenic”. This label was used to describe a group of participants, which were highly aggressive and intensively nationalistic and proud. The Paraphrenic visitor minimally acknowledged post civil war commodification or manipulation of the past but assigned all blame to the former Yugoslav regime for the inconsistencies occurring in the present.
- 3) “Enlightened”. The label of Enlightened was utilised to describe a group of participants, which were clam, felt depowered, highly nostalgic of the pre war period and tended to associate themselves with the Yugoslav identity, past and people. This group of participants acknowledge but actively disapprove of the commodification of the past and linguistic manipulation.

Before a summary of each of these categories is presented and a review of the process addressed, a number of qualifications need to be made first.



### **Final points relating to the data**

Before the data can be left behind, there are a number of important issues that need to be addressed in relation to its interpretation and credibility, particularly those associated with validity and transferability Goulding (1997). According to Riley (1996: 36-37), legitimate methods of ensuring consistency and reliability in qualitative research involve the usage of “others” in the analysis process.

#### **1) Ensuring Credibility within the research**

*“When establishing the credibility of analysis, the tradition of investigator-as-expert is reversed. This process is called ‘member checking’ and is an invited assessment of the investigators meaning. Informants can be invited to assess whether the early analysis are an accurate reflection of their conversations”*

(this is normally carried out before the interpretation is abstracted onto a conceptual level and therefore becomes less meaningful to the individual)

*“Transferability is not considered the responsibility of the investigator because the knowledge elicited is most influenced by each individual’s life context and situation. Indeed the varied social constructions of knowledge are what the investigator is searching for. In its stead the investigator is to accurately describe the contexts and techniques of the study so that subsequent follow up studies can match them as closely as possible”*

With regard to “member checking”, throughout the course of writing and researching my thesis I remained in very close contact with a large number of the participants in the study. Following an initial descriptive analysis of the data I travelled back to Croatia and held group discussions with the participants after having presented the findings from the analysis of the data to them, I found that the majority of the themes that had emanated from the research were accepted by the participants who in turn omitted a few themes and added a small number more that they considered important and missing.

#### **2) Whose theory is this? The participants or the researchers?**



Finally, to conclude this chapter consideration needs to be given to the issue of ownership. I think this requires an evaluation of how and why we make use of participants and how this in turn relates to the key philosophical underpinnings of the methodology employed. For example, had I chosen to adopt a grounded theory approach, then the emphasis would have to be on the researchers obligation to “abstract” the data and to think “theoretically” rather than descriptively (Goulding, 1997). However when using an ethnographic method the researcher must focus on the “voices” and “actions” of those under study in order to obtain the “emic” perspective. The researcher must also include his/her own experiences (memo’s and observations (“etic” perspective)) and to some extent interpretation (in narrative form) (Boyle, 1994; Muecke, 1994)).

Therefore whilst the participants provided the basis for the theory (the data) my responsibility became one of analysing and interpreting this information. At this point I would like to stress that my findings are an interpretation, they offer a perspective from which I, as an individual, actively involved in the experience, cannot divorce myself. Others with different academic backgrounds may study this ethnic group from a different vantage point, seek to focus on the observation and selection of different aspects of the phenomena (language, nostalgia, power and control etc. etc.) and may reach different conclusions. However, that does not mean to say that because we may conflict in our findings one party has to be wrong. It merely expands the theory and increases understanding from the broader disciplinary base.

The following chapter addresses issues of theory and the researcher perspective. It summarises the developed theory and discusses the contribution to knowledge of this research. This is followed by a discussion of the research process and addresses such issues as researcher learning through the process, the benefits and problems of using critical ethnography, and possible areas for future research.



## **Chapter Seven**

### **Conclusions and evaluation of process**



## **Chapter Seven: Conclusions and evaluation of process**

The objectives of this chapter are to summarise and present the findings of the research in relation to extant theory. The chapter proceeds to present the contribution to knowledge made by the research, offer an evaluation of the research process, display the limitations of the study, go through researcher learning, suggest future areas for research and finally, concludes with a personal reflection into my position as to individual identity fragmentation as experienced by this former Yugoslav citizen.

### **The findings of the research**

The aim of this research was to paint a rich picture of the post-war Croatian subject and to explore areas that have previously been ignored in studies of heritage visiting (Holloway and Wheeler, 1996). This evolved into the incorporation of ideas and theories relating to issues of the self and its role in consuming an individual identity through the consumption of heritage, but it also acknowledges that there are multiple selves and that these findings represent an insight into only one of these “selves”, that which relates to and uses the past for specific means.

The following section initially presents a summary of the developed theory that has evolved from the data and proceeds to portray the integration of theoretical ideas from relevant literature. It offers an explanation that addresses the research question, which revolves around the effects upon individual identity formation through the consumption of heritage within the post war Croatian social structure. This has largely been answered through the discussion of the three categories of behaviour presented in the last chapter and is reinforced throughout this final analysis. The following represents the theory and its relationship to the literature on consumer behaviour, heritage consumption and the self, which is based around the following three categories.



### **Explanatory Category: “The Fragmented Self”**

The initial explanatory category of behaviour that has emerged from an interpretive analysis of the data has been labelled as the Fragmented Self. This explanatory category rationalizes and connects the behaviour of the participants emphasising the following behavioural characteristics at sub category level (for an in-depth explanation on the development of sub-categories and further expansion on the construction of explanatory categories please refer to chapter six):

- Nostalgia
- Language and the Reconstruction of the Past
- War and Identity Reconstruction
- Manipulation of the Past
- Loss of Power and Control

In summary, the label of “Fragmented Self”, defines the nature of confusion and loss in a post civil war era that typified this behaviour. The Fragmented subject was moderately temperamental, selectively nostalgic of the pre war era but also very proud of the post 1996 national identity. The Fragmented visitor acknowledged both the pre and post civil war manipulation of the past by both regimes but assigned most of the blame upon the post civil war government.

An in-depth analysis of the behavioural characteristics that make up this category of behaviour has been offered within chapter six; thus, my main aim now is to move away from the analysis of the behavioural patterns of this group of participants and illustrate as to how the Fragmented category of behaviour contributes, fits in with, extends, and challenges the extant literature within the fields of consumer behaviour, identity, and heritage consumption.

Solomon (1992) states that you are what you consume. Researchers such as Belk, Wallendorf, and Sherry (1989) have explored how consumers project themselves onto possessions and consumption rituals and experience grief and confusion when such



possessions and rituals are lost or replaced because of theft, fire, or change. This “change”, which in the case of Croatia has taken the form of civil-war, has dislocated the cultural landscapes of class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, race and nationality which stabilised the pre-civil-war subject’s sense of self. According to Hall (1994) this loss of stable “sense of self” is sometimes called the dislocation or de-centring of the subject. The Fragmented category of behaviour reinforces the actuality that consumers experience grief or confusion when change dislocates a sequential conception of self or replaces consumption rituals that have been expressed for many years. The Fragmented category of behaviour extends theory by incorporating the compulsory or forced loss of self and heritage (consumption rituals) which has resulted due to the “change” enforced by civil war.

Chapman (1994) states the past is consistently altered for motives that reflect the present’s needs. We reshape our heritage to make it attractive in modern terms; we seek to make it part of ourselves, and ourselves part of it; we conform it to our self-images and aspirations (Chapman, 1994, Uzelak, 1998). Rendered grand or homely, magnified or tarnished, heritage is continually altered for our private interests or on behalf of our community or country. The Fragmented subject reinforces the writings of authors like Uzelak (1994) and Chapman (1998) by stating that heritage in Croatia has been continually altered and manipulated by both the pre and post-civil-war regimes. The Fragmented visitor consciously assigns most of the blame for the manipulation of heritage upon the post-civil-war government.

Lowenthal (1985) states that we alter the past in order to “improve” it - exaggerating aspects we find successful, virtuous, or beautiful, celebrating what we take pride in, playing down and hiding the ignoble, the ugly, the shameful. The heritage of all nations highlight supposed glories; where relics of failure are seldom saved and rarely memorialised. The Fragmented category of behaviour reinforces and extends the work of Lowenthal: although this category of behaviour reinforces the actuality that relics of failure are seldom saved, it introduces a new element by stating that in post-civil-war Croatia the relics that could be interpreted as being Serb in origin were consciously destroyed by the post war regime.



Denitch (1996), and Korac (1996) take the argument further by stating that the desire to create a homogenous moral community worthy of its heroic ancestors and regenerated through its politicised, vernacular culture requires the purification of its citizenry and rigorous exclusion, or destruction of everything alien (Denitch, 1996; Korac, 1996). The Fragmented visitor expands upon the extant literature by expressing that the very central pre-requisite for the formation of a Croatian ethnos is the immediate and total exclusion of the Serb element within the social and heritage sector.

Whilst considering the theory emerging from the category labelled as the Fragmented self, and reflecting back upon the work of a sample segment of writers whose works have been investigated (Hall, 1992; Belk; Wallendorf & Sherry, 1989; Lowenthal, 1985; Chapman, 1994; Uzelak, 1998; Korac, 1996; Denitch, 1996) amongst numerous publications in the fields of heritage, consumer behaviour and the self, it is evident to distinguish the actuality that the Fragmented category of behaviour reinforces, extends and contributes to the extant body of literature within the aforementioned fields.

### **Explanatory Category: “The Paraphrenic Self”**

The Second explanatory category of behaviour that emerged from the data has been defined as the Paraphrenic Self. This category of behaviour connects and rationalizes the behaviour of the participants displaying the following characteristics (for an in-depth explanation on the development of sub-categories and expansion on the construction of explanatory categories please refer to the preceding chapter):

- Paranoid Schizophrenia
- Language and the Reconstruction of the Past
- War and Identity Reconstruction
- Loss in Power and Control



In summary, the label of “The Paraphrenic Self” was applied to describe a group of participants, who were highly aggressive and intensely nationalistic and proud. The Paraphrenic visitor minimally acknowledged post civil war commodification or manipulation of the past but assigned all blame to the former Yugoslav regime for the inconsistencies occurring in the present.

According to Venkatesh (1996) consumption is linked to the construction of the self. Goods and services such as heritage sites are consumables that are to be loved and hated, and contribute to the social and psychological formation of the consumer and group culture. As Venkatesh indicates, it is a matter for debate whether goods and services simply mirror, extend, or identify an always and already complete self, or whether they in fact construct self, culture, and identity (Venkatesh, 1996, p. 43). The Paraphrenic subject reinforces the work of Venkatesh and extends theory by actively displaying how the individual subject within a post-civil-war Croatian context extends and constructs the self by consciously selecting and promoting the cultural and mental differences between the Croats and the Serbs.

Philips (1998) states that history and heritage have always been political in the former Yugoslavia; yet in terms of the overwhelming political interest in the field following the end of World War II, the teaching and representation of the subject within the heritage sector was particularly controversial and only offered a one sided/manipulated view of the past. This was reflected in the thousands of history-related letters, articles and editorials in the press, movies concentrating on the subject of the unification of the nation in WWII, and also in the endless references to the subject by party officials and representatives. This group of participants fervently reinforce the literature concerning the restraint and manipulation of individual ethnic pasts within the former Yugoslavia. According to the Paraphrenic visitor all changes to the post-civil-war heritage sites are natural since they are concerned with re-establishing a historical link with pre WWII Croatia.

According to Denitch (1996) the post WWII government have sanitised and commodified the past in order to offer the Yugoslav subject a sequential heritage, one



that possessed all the cultural characteristics that were considered vital at the time. The Paraphrenic group of participants reinforce and extend the work of Denitch (1996), this group of participants display the overt signs of depowerment as an effect of consuming what was considered to be an idealised image of history. Povrzanovic (1993) states that following the beginning of the 1991 civil war, Croat nationalist intellectuals were encouraged by the state to use the Croatian coat of arms, develop a new flag and anthem as well as re-use old nationalistic songs which were forbidden during communist times (Povrzanovic, 1993). The Paraphrenic subject critically challenges the work of Povrzanovic (1993) and avers that the post-civil-war regime and intelligentsia have at no time undertaken an attempt at manipulating the past.

Firat (1996, p. 107) points out that in postmodern consumer culture, ethnicity has been commodified, alienated from history, reified, and reduced to a set of symbols circulating on the global market and available to everyone. Thus, when Franjo Tudgman, encouraged by Croatian intellectuals, decided to manipulate a core “symbol” of Croatian consumer culture and reconstruct the Croatian language, he was commodifying the indigenous culture (Korac, 1996, Nadj, 1996). This meant isolating Croatian culture from its social and historical roots and reducing it to a kind of brand image symbolized by language, food, genetic superiority, and the Croatian coat of arms. The Paraphrenic subjects support the aforementioned literature and extend/contribute to theory by stating that this dislocation of the Croatian spoken form is a natural process of reinstating a once original language that was banned by the communist regime.

According to Reber (1985) a fundamental element to the condition of Paraphrenia is anger. Anger was a central theme emerging from this group of participants; all of the participants that were grouped under this category projected unfocused anger whilst being interviewed. The Paraphrenic category contributes to the work of Reber by supporting the fact that the symptom of anger can be experienced at reinforced levels within a society that is in the process of re-discovering its historical roots and culture.



Galagher (1991) states that national awakeners (academics/government) have always tampered with the past whilst undertaking a conscious attempt at offering their communities a historically acceptable conception of self. The Paraphrenic group of participants reinforce the work of Gallagher (1991) and expand theory by incorporating the symptoms of Paraphrenia as a side effect of consuming a commodified past.

The explanatory category that has been labelled as the “Paraphrenic self” lends support to, expands, and contributes to the work of a plethora of authors (Venkatesh, 1996; Philips, 1998, Denitch, 1996; Povrzanovic, 1993; Gallagher, 1991; Reber, 1985; Firat, 1996; Korac, 1996; Nadj, 1996) and thus actively contributes to the literature within the fields of heritage, consumer behaviour, and the self.

### **Explanatory Category: “The Enlightened Self”**

The Third category of behaviour that emerged from the data has been defined as the Enlightened Self. This explanatory category of behaviour connects and rationalizes the behaviour of the participants displaying the following behavioural characteristics at sub category level (for an in-depth explanation on the development of sub-categories and expansion on the construction of explanatory categories please refer to the preceding chapter):

- Nostalgia
- Loss of Power and Control

In summary, the label of “Enlightened Self” was applied to describe a group of participants, which was calm, expressed depowerment, were highly nostalgic of the pre war period and were inclined to associate themselves with the Yugoslav identity, past and people. This group of participants acknowledge but actively disapprove of the commodification of the past and linguistic manipulation.



Once again I would like to remind the reader of the fact that the behavioural characteristics of this category of behaviour have been discussed at great length within the preceding chapter. My main aim in re-visiting this category is to move away from the analysis of the behavioural patterns of this group of participants and illustrate, via the use of a sample of the theory discussed in the literature review, as to how the Enlightened self contributes, fits in with, extends, and challenges the extant literature within the context of consumer behaviour, identity, and heritage consumption.

Hall (1994) states that the old identities or conceptions of “self” which stabilised the social world for so long are now in decline, giving rise to new identities. These new identities are showing themselves in all geographical areas, but mostly in the eastern block though. The Enlightened category of behaviour contributes to the work of Hall (1994) and reinforces the actuality that the all-inclusive Yugoslav identity, which has stabilised the individual subject, is fading due to the birth of a post-war identity. Laenen (1989) argues that the main reason for the current interest in heritage consumption and the past by the individual subject can be located in the moral, social and identity crisis experienced by the “self” over the past decades. The Enlightened group of participants challenge Laenen (1989) and project a very conscious, stable and historically sequential sense of “self”. This group of participants accepts the newborn Croatian conception of “self” only when under pressure, but even then the Enlightened subject does so with an air of indifference and places minimal emphasis upon the contemporary conception of “self”.

Uzelak (1998) states that those who remake the past, as it ought to have been, as distinct from what it presumably was, are more aware of tampering with its remains. They deliberately improve on history, memory, and relics to give the past's true nature better or fuller expression than it could attain in its own time. Stevenson (2000, p6) states that in the early 1990's president Tudgman himself climbed to power by remaking the past, recasting it as what he believed it should have been like. The Enlightened subject reinforces Uzelak (1998) and Stevenson (2000); this group of



participants further extends the debate regarding heritage manipulation by stating that they do not make allowances for, nor consent to any form of manipulation whatsoever with regard to the heritage of the Croatian nation.

Those who deliberately invent evidence usually aim to implant error (Uzelak, 1998; Stevenson, 2000). Some misrepresent the past because what had actually happened embarrasses, impoverishes, frightens or does not serve their selfish aims/objectives and aspirations; others forge fake antiquities to gain wealth or to perpetrate a hoax; still others invent the history, symbols and images of a selectively portrayed heritage in order to inflame and solidify pride or patriotism (Crawford & Lischutz, 1998). The Enlightened group of participants contributes to the body of literature concerning heritage consumption and extends the aforementioned argument by stating they minimally connect with the commodified post war symbols, images, meanings and representations of the national culture, this group of participants shares a minimal sense of ethnic pride or ethnic awareness.

Goulding (1997, p 290) in her thesis concentrating upon contemporary consumer behaviour within British heritage sites discusses the emergence of a behavioural category labeled the “existential self”, this group of participants consumed and discussed images of the past at surface detail. The Enlightened category of behaviour, reinforces the work of Goulding (1997) and focuses particular attention to “surface detail” specifically when addressing the issue of authenticity. This group of participants further extends and contributes to the aforementioned theory by mostly questioning the authenticity of the representations of the past in the heritage sites due to time and wear instead of selective representation and government distortions of the relics within the site.

According to Davis (1979) nostalgia is memory devoid of pain, nostalgic remembrances constitute idealised memories of our past as we selectively perceive it to be, or how we would have desired it to be. The Enlightened group of participants reinforce Davis (1979), in their memories of a multi-ethnic Yugoslavia they actively include the Serbian element within the Yugoslav mosaic. This group of participants



contribute to literature by conveying the element of nostalgia towards a severed or prohibited ethnic group within a post-civil-war society.

Whilst reflecting back upon the theory that has emerged from the category labelled as the “Enlightened self” it becomes clear that the above category of behaviour lends support to, challenges, expands and further develops the extant body of literature within the fields of heritage, consumer behaviour, and the self as described above.

### **Contribution to knowledge made by this research**

After much reflection regarding the issue of contribution to knowledge I have concluded that the main contributions to the existing body of knowledge made by this thesis regarding the issue of heritage and consumer experiences are as follows:

- 1) The findings of the research have built upon and extended the current body of knowledge surrounding Consumer Behaviour within the heritage context by adding the dimension of a post war society to it.
- 2) Additionally, the findings have offered an improved understanding of how the consumption, of a selectively projected heritage aids in the development/fragmentation of the individual subject's sense of “identity” within a post war setting.
- 4) Furthermore, the findings are derived from the application of an interpretive research methodology, which, while I know of a few other studies in the area of tourism/heritage which have employed this method (Riley, 1996; Goulding, 1997), it still remains new to the study of heritage consumption.
- 5) One further significant aspect of the research lies in the fact that the final interpretation of the data has illuminated as to how post civil war Croats consume and



use their past given the political and cultural dimension of war, conflict and identity fragmentation.

6) Whilst there has emerged a plethora of research literature on interpretation, commodification marketing, and consumption of heritage, very little attention has been paid to the remaking and marketing of the past in societies that have undergone political, social and cultural change. Furthermore there is little work with an empirical foundation which takes account of the experiences of the indigenous population with regard to social change, cultural significance, identification and the consumption of the past. This study has contributed to an improved understanding of heritage consumption within social structures, that have undergone major political/economic change and upheavals.

### **Evaluation of process**

This section is largely a review of my own learning experience which in retrospect is easy to reflect upon both nostalgically and affectionately. However to describe the research process in terms of development and integration of ideas would be to succumb to the reassurance of selective memory. In reality, closer less subjective introspection and evaluation highlight the fact that in addition to the challenges faced and the degree of self development and personal growth associated with the process, it was also a time of considerable frustration and constant self appraisal and re-evaluation.

The strain that was often the result of this appraisal tended to differ in nature according to the various stages in the research. For example, I initially experienced anxieties regarding exactly what it was that I wanted to research. This was spurred on by further anxieties regarding methodological fit and research question. Nevertheless, this was hardly my main cause for concern; data analysis was the cause of much anger and confusion. As the data were collected and analysed in a simultaneous fashion,



there were times when my extreme concentration on the available information resulted in my inability to see and sense any pattern resulting from it. At such times I learned to leave the data alone for a few months and concentrate on other parts of the thesis in an attempt to clear my thoughts. This often resulted in “insights” at unexpected times and in strange places.

I have subsequently come to the realisation that research is not something that the researcher switches on and off from. The act of engagement in the research means that even when one is not fully concentrating on the problem, ideas continue to germinate at a subconscious level (Goulding, 1997). This nonetheless is an integral aspect of the experience that cannot be fully appreciated until a degree of release from the constraints of the researcher/data relationship is allowed. On reflection I can honestly state that the process has been on contrasts, of highs and lows, frustrations with myself and with the data, and then greater satisfaction when a rationalisation occurred and a clearer understanding gained.

### The research process

With regard to the actual process of conducting the research itself, this can be best described as a progression, or a journey which has led to the discovery of unexplored new horizons. This journey meant confronting different methods and approaches, and being confronted and challenged at a personal level at the same time. It also became clear that regardless of how many books on methodology one reads, the only real way to experience the strengths and weaknesses of the chosen method is to put it into practice.

Throughout the course of the research, but particularly in the early stages, there were a number of false starts. These were evident in the early attempts to focus on a research question, assign a set of feasible objectives and choose a fitting research methodology. The false starts were followed by the initial field trip, which generated so much data that I initially felt lost in it. This was followed by data analysis, data gathering and the start up of the writing process which seemed to interconnect at



times. The more I analysed the data the more themes emerged which in turn had to be reinforced and supported by the data.

### Presenting the data

One aspect of the research process that demanded ample thought lay in the final presentation of the data within the body of the thesis. Throughout the course of the research I collected an extensive amounts of data in the form of interview transcripts, field notes and observations, memos, diagrams and conceptual maps which ultimately amounted to hundreds of pages. This involved making decisions regarding what to present and what to leave out. Unlike quantitative methods where a copy of the questionnaire and statistical analysis can be inserted in the appendices for justification and evidence of the findings, with qualitative research it is impossible to provide the full evidence in a manner, which is immediately accessible to the reader. Consequently what is presented in this thesis is selective but it is intended to create a rich picture. Overall the aim of the research was to identify behavioural patterns of heritage consumption within post-war Croatia and the analysis and inclusion of data within the thesis was aimed at achieving this end.

### Writing the thesis

One important aspect of the research that is closely linked to questions of presentation is the issue of writing up the end product in such a way that it reflects the actual research experience. Due to the methodology chosen it was hard to convey a sequential sense of process, which accurately reflected the back and forward nature of data collection and analysis in qualitative research. For example, it was not possible to include the early development of properties, concepts and their relationships, which initially appeared to be a small jigsaw puzzle, without creating disorder, repetition and fragmentation within the text. Therefore the thesis has been written in a way that allows the reader to identify key stages in the research and highlight conceptual development.



## **Limitations of the study**

This study which seeks to examine and make sense of the sometimes anomalous behaviour relating to heritage consumption possesses a few but significant limitations, which need to be acknowledged in order to limit the misinterpretation of the findings and disorientation of the reader. Furthermore future research developments and studies within this area are proposed to accommodate and expand on the limitations of this line of investigation.

Firstly, there is one crucial element, which enables the researcher to minimise the chance of inaccuracies developing from within the research. This so-called critical element is time. This thesis has been to some extent time constrained; thus the depth that the research has gone into and hence the accuracy of the study might be infrequently negatively affected.

Secondly, the essence of sense making lies in the individual person as an analysis unit (in this case the researcher), (Crouch & Basch, 1997). The focus of sense making is the cognitive process by which a person develops an interpretation of the reality which they are faced with. Thus in order to be true to the idea of sense making and to increase the precision of the findings, this investigation needs to be complemented by further study of this largely unresearched area.

Thirdly due to the minimal amount of research conducted in the area (heritage consumption in Croatia) most of the findings will not be based on previous research since it is almost nonexistent; thus the findings were based on general theory circumvent to consumer behaviour at heritage sites and the actual research which has utilised ethnography as its methodology.

Fourthly, due to the limited amount of time and money which has been allowed for this research to be completed, the interviews were limited to a smaller number of participants than the author would have liked to work with (even though the chosen research paradigm/methodology allowed for smaller sample sizes (Denzin & Lincoln,



2000)) who were not re-interviewed as many times as the author would have liked to, this in turn reduces the magnitude, breadth, extent, and sometimes the accuracy of the findings of any investigation.

Fifthly, I have personally encountered colossal difficulty in encouraging informants to speak out openly whilst being taped. Informants seemed to minimise their experience whilst being taped and try to sound more acceptable in a social sense. This problem has been minimised by the usage of various techniques (methods) such as keeping the tape recorder out of sight (even though the participants were all informed of the fact that it was to be used), sitting behind the informant so as to make the interviewee feel more at ease (this is done in order to create the illusion of speaking to oneself and encourage the sensation of being alone and thus safer which I found encouraged the informant to be more sincere), not making a lot of eye contact with the participant, and by using memos which consist of reactions, personal observations, physical reactions and any interesting remarks or personal feelings that the interviewee has expressed when not being recorded (Holloway & Wheeler, 1996).

Sixthly, this research was designed to explore the nature of the heritage experience in Croatia and examine the societal implications of tampering with history. However, the subject turned out to be a rather sensitive issue and one which many were reluctant to discuss. There were incidents of hostility and on a few occasions the encounter came close to physical violence. Those who did agree to take part provided rich and vivid accounts of their experience, although a number refused to be taped, being deeply distrustful and frightened of the consequences, should their accounts fall into the 'wrong' hands. Some of the information given, 'off the record' conjured up images of a society living in fear. Nevertheless, these informants did not want their stories to be documented. In respect of this, the author has used only the accounts directly relating to the heritage/history experience.



### **Researcher learning and future areas of research**

In summary, I feel that the learning experience was experienced on two fronts, incorporating both academic and mostly personal growth. As a result of the process I have quite a different view about conceptualising research problems, particularly in relation to behaviour. This is largely a product of constant questioning and reappraisal. I found that by allowing myself to remain open to possibilities, this took me into a number of different realms and made me confront issues of “explanation” and the impossibility of arriving at all encompassing theories of human behaviour. More importantly though, I learnt a great deal about myself. The process of trying to explain the behaviour of others tended to reflect back in terms of self-analysis and a constant questioning of my fluctuating beliefs and ultimate aims. This questioning led me to the realisation that through the research process we can only scratch at the surface and that human behaviour is incredibly complex.

Possible future research may include ethnographic studies relating to individuals and changing perspectives on the past, or the role of language and how it alters over time, with changes in politics and ethno-historical development of the nation. This could be taken into different contexts, located within life histories and perceptions of language fragmentation in the past, or across age groups and contextualised within a framework of age culture. The issue of politics and its role in reshaping and fragmenting the past proved to be another area just outside the scope of this research, but could contribute significantly to a holistic understanding of behaviour, meaning and representations of history. Conversely, there appears to be considerable scope for analysis of contemporary Croatian museums, their consumers and the nature of the experience.



### **Personal reflections of post war identity reconstruction**

To conclude this chapter and the thesis, I would now like to now indulge in one of the methodological aspects of critical ethnography, which I found highly engaging. Critical ethnographers hold that the ethnographer is an inevitable participant throughout the text and it's construction (Holloway & Wheeler, 1996). They believe that ethnography is subjective, reflecting the stance, values and awareness of its scribe. The dynamic and mutual influence of the ethnographer and research field on each other is referred to by the term "reflexivity". Good ethnographies are explicit about the nature of the reflexivity that shaped them (Lamb and Hutlinger, 1989). Thus the following is a personal "reflection" of myself as a former Yugoslav and theoretically neouvou Croat upon my own post war identity reconstruction.

Within the past eleven years I have found myself collectively, with approximately another thirty three million former Yugoslav citizens, within a context, which posed enormous restrictions on how I can classify myself with regards to ethnic national identity. Before the civil-war in the former Yugoslavia commenced I, together with a number of other Yugoslav academics (Korac, 1996; Denitch 1996) never considered our ethnic national identity to be a significant characteristic of our conception of selfhood. We have gradually realised that the restrictions of war have threatened our self-concept in some essential ways. Since the tragedy began in what was known as Yugoslavia, I have come to the realisation that particular political contexts can make people voluntarily blind and deaf to the arguments that attempt to open up the space for difference and individuality within ideology. I have come to the realisation with great sadness that to my fellow Europeans there are no longer ex-Yugoslav citizens as an ethnic category, just ethnic nations that have resulted from the break up of the former Yugoslavia, some regarded by the West as better (more politically correct) than others (Korac, 1996). According to my fellow Europeans, the Yugoslav people never existed, moreover multinational individuals like myself exist even less now.

So who am I? I would say a Croat by origin, who, has consciously decided to remain a Yugoslav by choice. Today in Croatia one would call me an "Immoral Croat", a traitor to his people, nation and country, while in other parts of the world one would say: one of the last remaining fossils of the "Yugoslav" ideology and way of life. I



would say an individual caught within a transitory state searching for ideological consistency and truth within a post-modern, (Hall, 1987) fragmented Europe.

The struggle to keep alive ones memories, but to rethink the past from an open perspective is the only way for me to feel that I existed before this political turmoil started. Personally and professionally I believe that this is how we come to terms with our past, present, and future in our new states and social realities, how we may struggle responsibly in radically changed social contexts, with our assumptions about our identity.

Being a Yugoslav used to mean being a member of a very heterogeneous community. I have always considered Yugoslavia, which embodied so many languages, religions, and cultural differences as a great asset, as an opportunity to develop a shared, all-inclusive identity. For myself this was a critical feature of my notion of selfhood, a good base for flexible identifications (Stuart, 1990; Korac, 1993).

The emergence of ethnic nationalism and the disintegration of a common space meant the destruction of the markers (Ruthven, 1989) which played a important role in locating the Yugoslav subject, myself included. This destruction disrupted the sense of belonging for many Yugoslav citizens and radically displaced them. For all those former Yugoslav citizens who had identified themselves as Yugoslavs (over 2 million of them) the death of Yugoslavia was a great personal loss. According to Denitch (1994), what is left of the former Yugoslav citizens is supposed to vanish, or identify themselves with one of the new ethnic identities embodied in the newly-emerged states, in addition to adopting their new rules, roles, and values.

Although those who identified themselves as Yugoslavs were always in some way marginal, both in number and actual power, it would be hard to define their Yugoslav identity as the source of their oppression and acute discrimination within the old regime. Identifying yourself as a Yugoslav was seen as a source resistance for some, within the “Old” political context being a Yugoslav was not an unproblematic category and identity. The Yugoslav League of Communists (LCY) felt some ambivalence about the notion of Yugoslavianism (see above section about national censuses), in fact it was never recognised as a nationality/ or national identity, rather it was collapsed with a larger category of those who were “not nationally identified”. As such Yugoslavs were officially recognised as “others” and were never recognised as a



nation, nationality, or ethnic national group according to legislation and the constitution (Korac, 1996).

Thus, for many former Yugoslav citizens, especially for those of mixed ethnic-national origin, Yugoslav was an important identity, a potentially inclusive category. Its loss as both an individual and political option foreshadowed a new dynamic of exclusion. Accordingly for those of us who crossed demarcation zones, the disintegration of Yugoslavia meant displacement.

Personally, it left me, I feel, without the option of being either Yugoslav or Croat. I am not able nor willing to identify myself as a “pure” Croat because that would now imply acceptance of the values of “heritage manipulation” and “Purification” of differences and the process of exclusion. Moreover, I feel I cannot materialise as a Croat at this stage of my existence. Perhaps my children will feel faintly more Croat than myself, but it will only be the generation after them that will be converted into the first veritable Croatians with an unfragmented sense of national and personal evolution. Furthermore, although I am a part of Croatian culture and tradition in so many ways, most of my memories, experiences and values (Giddens, 1991) arise from the notion of shared identity with all the peoples of the former Yugoslavia. My relationship to these people was not just symbolic, I knew and shared experiences with so many of them.

This shared experience determined how some Yugoslav citizens (including myself) developed the notion of shared identity, the sense of difference, which is not pure “otherness”. This notion of diversity, as formed gradually from earlier childhood was unconscious until the 1992-1996 Yugoslav civil war. That experience linked to my professional involvement in the field of identity/heritage consumption, announced a turning point in my life, where discourses of “sameness” became problematic. When faced with the violent recomposition of my social space based on the ultimate claim for ethnic national “oneness” and the fabricated creation of the hated “other”, my experience of a united Yugoslavia remained crucial for who I am, and who I could become.

I consider what is officially left of my nation, or the part that chooses to call itself Yugoslavia, without possessing the essential political, cultural and social markers which I have earlier defined, to be a politico/cultural “fraud”. This breakdown of what



was formerly known as Yugoslavia has induced myself to undertake a personal, intensive search for an ethnic identity which I may unquestionably consider my own, or a “position” from which I, as an individual may speak. I feel that if I was to state where I come from, there would no longer be a historically accepted, basis for my language, heritage, customs, needs, and experience. “The position” can neither be the old boundary nor the current extreme that has been perversely and artificially manufactured by nationalists, politicians and intellectuals (Korac, 1996). It must be a third place where a new and sequential identity can be expressed. Thus the place where I, and millions of other Yugoslavs like myself, am speaking from now is still somewhere in transition to that new “place”.



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# Appendices

**Appendix One**  
**The “Fragmented” Subject**

**Interview # 2**

Location Trogir

Name- Renata Andriyolich

Occupation- Student

Age: 21

**Renata on why she visits the site**

“because I like it here. I specifically enjoy the old part of the island ... the people.”

**When asked if she enjoys visiting other sites?**

“Split... more or less only Split. I like Diocletians Palace... the Peristil.... The Riva and much, much more.”

**When questioned about emotions created by the visit**

“I feel a positive vibration.”

**Perceptions about the archaeological remnants link to her character**

“I like the Piazza.... I feel that the Piazza represents the social aspect of my character... it draws in large crowds and I truly love being around people.”

**Does the site represent some form of social interaction**



“Well I like being with friends.... because I feel very comfortable with them and I can truly be myself.”

Int: Are there any artefacts here that invoke the Serb link to the Croats?

No!

Int: Were there any artefacts that invoked this link?. When were they removed?.

No!

### **Emotions towards Serb artefacts**

“I would prefer that they all disappeared.. because I really can’t stand the Serbs as a people.”

### **Memories of the past**

“Well it was definitively the good old days.... because I have so many positive memories of that time... I had a fabulous childhood.... I needed nothing, i was protected economically, sociologically ... in every way, it was a much better life.”

Int: So would I be correct in perceiving that you would prefer going back to the way things were?

You would most definitely be right.

### **Renata on what it means to be Croat**

“To me..... I am proud to be Croat... but we as a nation do not posses a strong character but overall I think that we are good people.

Our characters are weak because we cannot create by ourselves and must always be pushed forward by a stranger or from abroad.. That’s why it was better in the former regime.”

Int: Has this changed since the Civil War?

Well it is the same but I guess that a few things have changed .... like freedom of speech, but now we can openly say that we are Croats. When I think about what has happened and how many people gave their lives for nothing really, ... then I am not so proud to be Croat.

**Perceptions on whether there are any ideological and physical characteristics that the Croats possess?**

“Yes, .... The Croats you see are more of a European nation than the Serbs or Bosnians... They on the other hand are typical of what I expect of the Balkans.”

**The link between the past and the vision of oneself.**

Normally yes... for all my life I have been brought up to be a Croat and to respect my past and heritage... there is definitively a link between me, the Croats in general and our heritage.

**The perception of the Croat people within the former Yugoslavia.**

No, no, .. no ... we were always pressurised... we were always something less than the Serbs or the Slovenians and maybe less than the Bosnians... we were the shit of Yugoslavia.

**Thoughts on the authenticity of the Croatian past as portrayed by current heritage sites.**

No, it has mostly stayed the same except .. maybe now the heritage industry is concentrating more on what the Croats have achieved..... Croat artists etc etc .

Int: Have the representations within this site changed or developed (cleansed) since the beginning of the civil war.

A little bit, not much...

**Renata on the similarities of the Croats to other members of the former Yugoslav federation.**



No we are completely different... we are much more cultured than the Serbs and the Bosnians ... we never really got on with them.

### **Thoughts on a new found independence.**

Well,... In our whole history we were never independent ... always under someone's control.... I think then came Tudjman who understood this and worked towards giving us our independence. This is a very deep need of the people.... To be Croats and nobody else.. I think that Tudjman did not have a hard time in convincing us to get out of Yugoslavia.

### **Perceptions on the media.**

Before we heard the Serbs news... everything was in Serbian. Croat TV at that time was very small ... now though, things are worse ... Now they lie to us more, much more than the Serbs ever did... it's just pure politics, it's just that before they were Serbs and now they are Croats ... it's just the politics of spectacle, show and lies.

Int: Do you feel that the mass media has distorted or purified Croat history? How?

Yes they did ... in fact, what they did is that they bent the truth a little bit.

### **The government and heritage.**

Of course, well every government .. at least the last two that I have had the experience to see have just used heritage in order to serve their own ambitions ... so a piece of heritage that does not appeal to the government must not be taught at schools

Int: Have they distorted or purified the Croat past?

Oh yes.... definitely yes ... television and government are ..... well let me make something clear to you, the government controls the media. When I was at school I

had to learn about the Partisans and the Russians but now my sister does not know anything about all that, she only learns about the civil war, the HDZ and basically whatever the government thinks that we should know.

### **Renata on positive sociological aspects after the war.**

Positive .... No I don't ...maybe the only positive aspect of this war is that we can say that we are Croats but there I definitely nothing else that is positive within this whole fiasco. There are many negative aspects though .... High unemployment, the people are dissatisfied .....

### **Thoughts on a modified language.**

Well from the beginning of the civil war us Croats must study the new Croatian language because we were not allowed to go on using the same language since it contained many Serbian words ... Thus they changed everything into Croat... like lets say avion (aeroplane) was changed into zrakoplov... you see some stupidities that we never heard of before. You must understand that all this came from the government ... everything that was Serbian or fascist in the former regime is now a taboo subject.

Int: Why do you think these changes were made? .

It came bit by bit .. but generally the idea was that we no longer want those Serbian words in our dictionary and we must start speaking Croat etc. etc.

Int: Did people look down at you if you were not conforming to the new norms?.

Well in the beginning yes... but later on no, later on we kind of revolted against the stupidity of this new language

Int: Who initiated them the changes.

The politicians.



Int: Do you think that this new language helps offer the Croats as a nation an exclusive or more acceptable past?

No I don't in fact I feel that deep down it makes the Croats feel like an imbesilic nation. We understand that it is truly silly what we are allowing the government to do to us .... It's ludicrous allowing the government to tell us that we need to learn the Croatian language .. As if we don't know our own damned language, that's just plain stupidity. People have to some extent continued speaking the way that they used to, but in books is were you see the big difference .. I don's want to read new books because there are so many words that I do not understand.

### **Renata on the destruction of Yugoslavia.**

Well I feel really bad that we were ripped apart I feel that they are family that I can no longer see or talk to.

### **A relationship between the present and the past.**

Yes I do... we constantly use our heritage to reinforce our nationalism ... The Croats did this that or whatever ... we only use what is positive for us. This war has been completely fought on the grounds of heritage, heritage was the numero uno weapon.

### **Renata on the new political establishment.**

No, not much more ...well in fact not at all ... mostly because I despise our government which wants us to look at whatever they feel is complementary to themselves ... but I am the kind of person that likes to see the truth.

### **The link between heritage and government.**

Yes of course ... that's what I have been saying all this time ... Basically to make things simple it's a new heritage for a new government.

Int: Why do you think the media and the government have taken such a large interest in national heritage?

Well, because the government wanted to get into power .. and they realised that under the old regime they would never do so, thus in order to fulfil their ambitions they had to wake up something that has been sleeping deep down inside of us, a need for our own government, freedom and independence ..... and this was the only way that they could do this .. by taking what they needed out of heritage and then further bending it a bit.

### **The current reality of antecedent heritage sites.**

Well I feel that there are actually less, lets see for example when I was younger they used to take us on excursions to Tito's house which was a museum, but now that house does not exist any more .. as a museum that is ... you see it is still there but nobody goes there any more ... it's just disgraceful. All statues and remnants of the second world war have been destroyed .. but why, why rewire history.

Int: so Tito is a taboo subject.

Yes he is, but that is just a fiasco for us .. it is shameful .. if we are ashamed of our past then we do not have any future at all.



## MEMO

Renata was very courageous, she had no problems with speaking to me in a public place and made her views very clear. She was very calm, honest and talkative even though she was initially difficult to spark off.

When I had finished taping the conversation Renata gathered the courage to produce some more information which she was uncomfortable speaking about on tape, she described the governments role within the current social system. I was told that people are still disappearing if they kick up too much of a fuss (with them their whole families). She explained how she was made to pay corrupt lecturers large sums in order to get enrolled on a course at a university and how each module costs a certain amount in order for it to be passed (each lecturer had his or her trusted student who this money had to be given to, apparently there is a price list that circulates at the beginning of each semester). She explains that the academics must accept some of the blame for the current incompetence of the nation because they have encouraged a corrupt moral structure. Renata explained that things are now exactly the way they were, the old communist party is now called the HDZ and all the old members have become loyal elements of the new party. It is still these individuals that rule though, and only by joining the party can an individual ensure a safe future for themselves and their families.

## Interview # 10

Location: Split

Name- Danira Yeleska

Occupation- Student in Zagreb

Age- 22

### **Danira on why she visits the site.**

Yes I do ... every day .... Whenever I go through town, basically because I have to since it is in the centre of town.

Int: Do you visit other sites?

I do ... I remember when I was on a visit to Paris I visited the Louvre and I really enjoyed that.

### **Thoughts on her favourite artefact and what it says about her.**

I like the Peristil

The reason why I enjoy it so much is because it makes me feel that I have travelled through time and arrived at my favourite period in history ... the time of the Roman Empire.

It doesn't really say anything about my character.... It just says that I am sensitive and romantic.

Int: Did you come alone, with visitors or family?.



I can visit the Palace with my friends, family or I can go by myself ... it all depends on my mood.

Int: Hypothetically speaking, if there were Serb artefacts would you prefer they remain or be destroyed?

That all depends on what they represent .... If they represent something cultural then they should remain.

### **Perceptions of the past.**

I used to have a better standard of life ...

### **Perceptions of post war life.**

Well, I don't live well .. in fact I don't live well at all.

Every year seems to be getting worse ... we are beginning to lose our moral. We can work through everything ... but we no longer hold on to one another and are beginning to devolve into territorial creatures who possess a loose moral fibre.

### **Danira on what it means to be Croat.**

I am proud to belong to something .... It is important to me as an individual to possess some form of heritage.

Int: Has this changed since the Civil war?

No, ... not really

### **Danira on distinct ideological and physical characteristics that the Croats possess?**

I would say that the Serbs are temperamental just like us but are culturally not as evolved as we are and most importantly they carry within their genes a need for battle

and aggression ... it is said that the Serbs are born with a dagger beneath their pillows, this fact has been proved by some research. They always suffered from a hallucination that they did not distort anything and have been victims throughout the course of history .... In the end both world wars have been linked to the Serbs.

Int: Two, not one?

Yes, both ... they had links in both and they just missed out in sparking of the third. I am not a nationalist nor an extremist, in fact I consider myself to be a normal individual ... I can't cope with either our or their extremes in character ..... I won't say that the Serbs are not people, they are people and some of them are truly wonderful people.

Int: Within the former Yugoslavia did the Croats envisage themselves as being a member of a larger whole or were there always nationalistic tendencies from the Croats? .

There was always nationalism that set apart these two nations ...

### **Thoughts on authenticity.**

The relics within the Palace have not been changed much.

They could represent life in the past in a much better way if they were cleaned once in a while. Many parts of the palace have not been cared for well and more money needs to be invested in it.

### **Perceptions of the media involvement**

Our media have always involved themselves in heritage ... Now even more, in another way. Nothing has changed you see.

### **Danira on the political situation.**

Look! ... the system is changing and we are moving towards Capitalism ... These are radical new changes, but if you look closely enough you will understand that nothing has changed ... nothing at all. Before it was a single party system and now we



supposedly have a multi-party system but the leading party consists of the same individuals who controlled the former regime.

### **Thoughts of media distortions of history.**

Yes they have ... for example.... Well, I really don't want to endanger myself by talking about this on tape.

Look at the documentaries they are making about Tito ... they make it look as if he did not manage to offer anything to this nation ... They started making these documentaries as soon as the war sparked off and then continued making them with a vengeance this time after the war. They completely distorted him as a persona ... they commented on his sexual life ... who the hell cares anyway? ...It was just a cover in order to introduce filth about him.

### **Danira on Government distortions of history**

Of course they did ... They did what the bloody Fascists did ... They changed and nostalgically cleansed all books that are being studied in school. If you compare the books that are being studied now with the ones studied a few years back you will find they contradict themselves in almost everything they claim.

Int: What happened to the old books?

I told you they banned them .. they were not to be used any more. All the old negative aspects of heritage have been rewritten to represent positive aspects now ... I am referring to important personas within heritage. So as I was saying nothing has really changed ... but we claim to be democratic and open towards Europe etc. etc.

Int: Which institution took a larger interest in heritage?

The new government has definitely taken a more active role in heritage.

Int: Why do you think the media and the government have taken such a large interest in national heritage?

Heritage was their primary weapon in awakening the feelings of nationalism within the Croats. Through heritage they pulled together all negative aspects about the Serbs and served them to the Croat public.

The former regime had one principal objective .... to keep these people together as one so they had minimal interest in heritage which could awaken nationalistic tendencies ... do you understand what I mean .... They had no interest in the usage of heritage.

### **Thoughts on the positive aspects of war.**

Yes there are positive aspects that have arisen from the war ... Firstly we are now an independent republic, we have gotten rid of the Yugoslavs and are no longer being robbed of our money from tourism but we are stagnating on the other hand ... As I have told you we are losing our moral and that is the worst. Most of the individuals that occupy positions that are associated with power are former communists, so my question is how dare they point the finger and criticise the former system when in fact they were running it. These people were in jails for some time and now have risen to power again only to launch a personal attack on the former system ... a personal revenge, this is very dangerous.

### **Perceptions of a new language.**

They are pushing the limits really... they have overdone it, apparently they are digging up some old Croat word and are trying to cleanse the Croatian language of foreign impurities, as they say ... They are reintroducing some words that haven't been used for hundreds of years and now the Croat people no longer understand their own language!

To me these words are strange.

Int: How did these changes come about?

Our first encounter with this so called new language was through some television documentary called "words", newspapers etc etc.



### **Feelings towards other members of the former Yugoslav federation.**

I don't like them ... but I have no hatred ... ohh ... I just don't know.

### **Distortions of the past**

Yes I do think that due to the financial and economic difficulties, currently experienced by the Croats, the media together with the government have perversely distorted heritage in order to offer the post modern consumer an acceptable past.

### **Variations in the number of post war heritage sites.**

The same amount .... I personally have not noticed any new museum around.

## MEMO

Danira was not very talkative, but even so offered valuable information about the past and current situation in Croatia. She was not nervous throughout the conversation but sustained eye contact during the interview.

Danira was not very willing to be interviewed, I had to persist over a period of three weeks before she finally decided to speak to me. Danira made it clear from the beginning that there were many things which she was not willing to talk about, on tape, such as the current political establishment.

After the interview, unlike other informants, Danira did not wish to continue the conversation. Her only worry was that she should remain anonymous and that, she was not seen by other members of the community whilst speaking to me.



**Appendix Two**  
**The “Paraphrenic” Subject**

**Interview # 7**

Name: Cane Dorilich

Location: Trogir

Name? - I am not sure whether or not I want to tell you ..... Hmmmm..... tell me again what this is about ..... and who the hell is this for ..... Well my name is Cane Dorilic(I immediately realised that something was wrong at this point because the word cane is Italian for “dog”)

Occupation?-Retired sailor

Age? - 102 look young man I don't have time for this crap so just tell me what you want.

**Cane on why he visits Trogir**

I come to Trogir every day, because I am bored and I like to see loads of people. I enjoy the heritage of this small place because I feel that Trogir is one of the most beautiful towns on earth.

**Attractions he enjoys**

The cathedral, the entrance to the city .... Well actually the whole of the town is a work of art, don't you agree?

**The Serb link to the towns heritage.**

There is something, the battlements on the castle which were built as a means of protecting the town.

Int: So what link does this have with the Serbs?

None at all (he started puzzling me here).

Int: Do you feel that there should be artefacts that remind the Croats of their previous link with the Serbs?

No, according to me they need to remain where they are ... like the Serb monasteries in Knin lets say ... These are parts of heritage that should be respected. Only idiots would ruin this like they did when they destroyed our churches.

### **Perceptions of the past.**

Well for some they were good, for some bad ... For me they were hard days because I had to travel the world to gain my daily bread. I started sailing when I was 19 so in my opinion it was good for many people, those who got government housing and .... I don't want to go into that. I never had anything from either regimes, but the two governments are not the same, neither are the two establishments. Before we lived much better.

### **Impressions of what it means to be Croat**

..... Personally ..... am a great nationalist. These are my people, I am an extremist and I am proud to have my nation ..... an independent nation.

Int: Has this changed since the Civil War?

Yes the feeling is stronger, we have our own nation ... but I am against what most are doing ... They used to be party members and never go to church but now they are all strong Catholics ... They are just wearing a new mask, it's all about interest really .. why are they then communists? Because of their own interest, they used to get



privileges for instance all the good jobs etc. but now it's the same because if you are a member of the HDZ then you still get some privileges.

**\*At this point he starts looking at the Dictaphone**

You turned this piece of shit on? Hey, who the hell are you kidding turn this thing off!!! (still holding the Dictaphone he says) I am going to throw this damned thing into the water !!!!!, turn it off !!!!!

Int: Wait a minute I haven't asked you anything dangerous (I grab hold of the Dictaphone at this stage, he starts walking off). Wait come back just a moment.

**Reactions towards the Serbian people.**

Yes there are physical variations and they are from a different culture. We are more linked to the west, whilst they have strong links with the ottoman empire. The culture is different ... it's another religion.

That comes down to the individual ... There were those that were nationalists .... It's individual really.

(he starts walking off again, I persist and go after him. He grabs the Dictaphone and turns it off)

"I know why you want me ... you are a party member!! They sent you to get me, you just want me to say something that is wrong and then you and the rest of the HDZ shit are going to lock old Cane up!!!!"

He grabs the Dictaphone again looks at it and throws it into the water. I jumped after it straight away, luckily it was resting on some stones beside the water. He comes straight for me.

"Give me that tape!! I want the tape!!!! (he tries to get at the Dictaphone again) just give it to me !!"

At this point I managed to calm him down and persuade him that I am not a party member.

### **Perceptions on change since the end of the war.**

No nothing has changed, what is there to be changed ?

It all depends on how much money there is.

### **Thoughts on the mass media**

Int: What do you mean?

..... Well they are controlled from above.

Int: Do you feel that the mass media has distorted or purified Croat history?

Heritage cannot be distorted, history is history.

### **Cane on the governments link to heritage**

They work for their own interest.

(He starts walking off again, I go after him)

You must be kidding me, why don't you go and interview someone else, let me hear the other recordings you have made)

What about the Government, have they distorted or purified the Croat past?

(He keeps walking, at this point I am just walking behind him)

They definitely have, this is the third political establishment to control this place in the last ten years ... Every establishment have distorted the truth and the past in order to assist them in their selfish and power hungry ambitions.

### **Thoughts of a new Croatian language.**

Well ... it's good but if I have learnt for the last 100 years a certain way of speaking then it shouldn't be expected of myself to learn to speak again .... That is for the young generation.



Int: Is this the real Croatian language

Yes it is, but it is so old that even the academics are not sure of the pronunciation and the meaning of some of these old words , so you see it is really just an interpretation ... Who can learn all this?

Int: Why do you think these changes were made? .

Time, government and history dictated them, but there are going to be elections soon and I would like to see some change ... This government have been around for the last ten years.

“These are difficult questions for my old head .... You should be speaking to more educated people really.”

(At this point I just gave up on him and let him go on his way)

## MEMO

Cane started lying from the beginning. He was highly evasive and rude at times, I was sure that he gave a false name. Cane was the most aggressive interviewee I had spoken to.

The most difficult aspect about talking to this gentleman is that he kept grabbing hold of my Dictaphone and turning it off. Whilst it was off he made some very interesting comments and accused me of being an agent.

Cane never made eye contact with me and kept on turning his back towards me as if to hint that he wanted me to go away.

After turning off the Dictaphone he was more willing to speak, Cane became defensive and kept stating that PhD's are worthless member of society and know nothing about nothing (even though I explained that I was still studying for my PhD). I believe that it is through this defence mechanism (that has become inbuilt through fifty years of communism) that older members of society try to cover up their inhibitions and complexes towards the West by simply hating everything that originates from Western culture.

On a personal level this interview like many others involving elder members of society truly disturbed me. I have often thought about this elderly gentleman his aggressive attitude and insults and have hypothesised to myself that if he was a genuine representation of Eastern block thinking then it would be at least another generation before the sociological playing field between East and West would truly be level.



## Interview # 9

Name: Vjekoslav Dokich

Location: Split

Occupation: ( he laughs sarcastically) you know what I am ? “Slave” ..... I am what is known as a slave

Int: What do you mean

Well the waiter is known as a slave .... Is he not?

Age: 60 ..... More than what I need

### **Vyekoslav on when he visits the site**

Oh yes .... Whenever I go into town ... to buy fish I have to go by the Palace.

### **Sad memories of a bitter old man.**

Yes of course I do, (very sarcastic at this time, big sadistic grin on his face) my work always allowed me the time to visit these wonderful sites (his irony is becoming transparent at this time). My work assured that I was busy throughout the day, as for free time ... well that was given to me whenever they felt like it.

### **Thoughts on what he likes in the Palace.**

Yes ... the bloody stones,.....What is there for me to like? The palace is interesting to visit the first time one sees it but after that it's just routine really.

### **Perceptions towards Serb artefacts.**

There was a small church in the centre .... what was it's name ..... Saint Save's, it was a small thing but at the moment it does not operate any more.

Int: how do you feel about that church?

It's not right! , it's on my land!!!

Int: would you prefer that it did not exist?

Yes!.

### **Perception of his past.**

Ha .... Little one.. you would have to know our heritage to understand this ... but I will tell you in brief. They wanted us, in Belgrade there is a huge church .. the patriarchy ....behind the altar there is a map of what they consider to be the great Serbia, this is how the Orthodox people view the great Serbia to be. The orthodox believed that in 88,89 there will come the French Seven ..... In Belgrade there is a street called French street ... the number seven signifies the house number where they met, here met great artists, actors and all who had influence. The French seven planned at that time to conquer the whole of Croatia, and that is how the war started ..... and that is what I mean by the French seven, they wanted it all from Karlovach to Karlobak ... that was all to be Serbian ground ... Dubrovnik was to fall under Montenegro. The French seven aspired to create links with a Fascist Italian underground organisation with which it agreed to offer Istria in exchange for there help throughout the following war.

All our young including myself in 1962 when I went to the army had to learn to speak Serbian because the military dictionary was written in Serbian. If you dared to utter a word in another language or accent then you were promptly taken care off. You see the Turkish wanted to introduce the Turkish blood line in us whilst the Serbs wanted to do the same with their own blood line. Many of our writers, without realising it, had started writing books and using Serbian words ... So at the moment in Croatia there are many Serbian words and it is difficult to get rid of all of them at once. What are the Serbs? They all don't like to work because they all liked the idea of being officers, they like leading and they truly had taken over all the highest posts around. They had step by step attempted to conquer Croatia long before the start of this civil war through the take-over of the best positions in the labour market. In the



army 95 percent of Yugoslav politics was lead by Serbs, that means that the remaining five percent of the diplomatic representatives of Yugoslavia constituted of Croats, Slovenians etc etc. They had everything ..... many of these British that say all sorts of things don't know about this fact. We had enough of that situation because we realised that they were going to move in on us .... We had to move at that very moment ..... elder people of 77 years if age together with the young moved into this war, just in order to get rid of them once and for all. The European Union together with many foreign powers though are pressuring us into bringing them back, but we want them all out .... Just as they wanted a "clean" Serbia we wanted a "clean" Croatia, if you want Serbia then go to Serbia ... that is why the European Union is placing the squeeze on us more than on Serbia ... they are constantly placing some idiotic sanctions upon us, but when the Serbs realised what is going on in Serbia at the moment then they all wanted to come back here!!! .... But nobody had asked them to leave in the first place they left themselves..... When we got weapons and organised ourselves they started running because they thought that we would kill them all.

Do you know what there politics was .... Get married to a Croatian women ... this went for the officers especially since they had large salaries and had high privileges, they had their own stores as well where they traded in cheap foodstuffs, they especially went for the Dalmatian women and our women went for them because they had money, but today we see that this was a boomerang because they wanted it all. The Serbs did everything step by step .. they distorted our language, culture, took our jobs and finally stole our women. I have a wife ... she is from an island so we built our home on this island and raised a family .... This house next to mine ... it's a Serbs house he bought this land and built this house, he married one of our women and slowly assimilated himself within our culture. Do you realise by now what I am saying? ..... What they did was undertake an organised attempt to genetically cleanse the Croatian nation.

### **Perceptions of the present.**

We cannot compare the present to the past because in the past whoever was in power lived well now those that are in power still live well ..... During the war various plans were made and it was decided that we must join the European Union .... We must join the civilised world ... We need to destroy all the old factories and thus people

have been made redundant. If they are to shut down a factory then they should open something else because according to myself Croatia has an enormous debt .. because we had to accept the debt of the former Yugoslavia ... two and a half Billion dollars which has now further escalated to eight billion.

### **Vykoslav on what it means to be Croat.**

These are things that have nothing to do with economics! ... People are people ... look at the Scottish .... They wear their kilts etc etc and have a sense of pride to be Scottish, I also am proud to be Croat ... The nation tells the individual who and what he is. Let me tell you something else ... Many of our people travel around the world ... America, Australia and other places but they always Carry with them their heritage. do you know where is Velebit .... You don't even know where this is ... Ha, first of all you need to become aware of the geography and workings of this nation before you come around and question me

Int: I am not questioning you but only want to learn from you.

You are fucking incompetent just like everything else that comes from the west ...

.....you ask me about heritage but you don't know where fucking Velebit is then there must be something wrong !!!! (he is getting upset, very red in the face). When a psychologist questions you the first thing he asks is where you come from]

Int: I am not a psychologist.

The fuck you're not .... You are incapable of questioning me ... you fucking foreigners just want us, you just want to invade our country and take over.

Int: I only ask how various aspects of being Croat make you feel.

In Velebit there are some special birds that live in this place for a few years and then travel the globe .... Through Turkey and Russia they travel for six years in order to return to Velebit in order to rest ... They travel but return to where they were born ... so does every Croat we have a large amount of Croats all over the world that keep coming back to see their loved ones and after the war they are coming back to stay and open up businesses such as factories ... They are like elephants that travel all over Africa, these animals know where their burial ground is and when they feel that their time has come they go back to this place and lie down and die.



Int: is there a specific feeling that being Croat creates?

Yes ... when I watch historical documentaries about Yelachich (a Croatian King) and all our kings that fought for our Croatia ... but it is a pity that someone always came around and hit us over the head .. you understand ... The Turks came around and fought us for five hundred years then the Austro Hungarian empire then the Russians the communists but now we have liberated ourselves ... Who will pounce on me now.

Has this changed since the Civil War, your sense of pride?

Yes as I have told you before ... people who were eighty years old volunteered ... to fight and liberate themselves ... to breathe freely. There is no longer the feeling of a foreign influence around within the country.

### **Vyejoslav on characteristics that set the Croats apart from the Serbs**

Yes ... firstly religion, then food ... yes ....then you have to know that wherever the Turkish Sultan had landed is till today primitive ..... if you look at Bosnia it is a primitive nation .. so is Serbia. If it wasn't for our kings and Barons then this would have happened to us as well. Ban Yelachich even protected the Serbs around Novisad, then after refusing to take a piece of Serbia as a reward for keeping the Turks out he asked for all the great Serbian warriors... He brought these warriors to Croatia and married them off to Croat women and thus comes the creation of the Serbian nation ... So on one hand Ban helped us to get rid of the Serbs but in the other he brought us Serbian soldiers.

Our mentality is different from that of the Serbs ... we are lovers of song ... food and drink, they aren't ... When it comes to culture we are different ... they are more aggressive. Whilst you give to the Serb he is calm ... like the cat and the dog ... when you give he is good but if he sees that you will not give him anything then he starts becoming very aggressive. Their aggression brought on the first and second Balkan War and the first World War.

### **Thoughts on authenticity.**

Nothing has been changed within the palace ... nothing has been made to look prettier ... they are how they used to be, they are just deteriorating .... Whether Split will have the money to restore these ancient relics is the question ... one day everything will fall, deteriorate and fall to pieces.

Has the representations within this site changed or developed (cleansed) since the beginning of the civil war?

Yes ... they are digging further into the palace ... bit by bit they dig clean and renovate, but this is very little ... too little in order to objectively uncover all of the palace and restore it properly ... too little is being put into it.

The names of streets have changed in the palace but that is normal since every government renames the streets according to their heroes but that is not important.

Int: What is your opinion on the media involvement in history?

Heritage is heritage whilst the media are the media ... here .... Establishment use the media for political purposes, some say they want to restore the palace whilst others say different things ... if you are financially well off though all this doesn't matter .. if you aren't well off then all the politicians do is have goes at each other. Lets say you blame me for something and I claim that is not true but it is you who are at fault ..thus you run around in circles and one player kicks the ball to another because you do not have the funds in order to resolve the problem.

### **Feelings towards the Government role in heritage**

The government has brought our heritage back .. they brought back Bana Yelachich who was banned by the communists. There used to be a beautiful fountain on the riviera in Split, but it carried a fascist symbol ... the symbol needed to be removed and the fountain left alone but the communists destroyed it, what the new establishment has done is bring back the church ... The new bishop has said though that we are to place the church on one side and the politicians on the other and make sure that these two have nothing to do with one another since the partnership of these



two is a sure fire recipe for destruction ... We must understand that politics is politics and the church is the church.

### **Thoughts on the distortion of Heritage.**

Heritage cannot be changed .... Those who talk to me through the media of TV lets say, they only tell me what I already know ... what I have learnt at school. few things do change such as aspects of heritage which were unproven or for which there was no evidence resurface in the event of new findings that support it, for example the mass graves that the communists made are being dug up now and evidence is surfacing that proves the anti Croat nature of the former regime.

There is no government that doesn't reshape heritage .... so does our new establishment, the whole damned Clinton establishment is plagued by filthy liars ... So there is no use in denying that we do not have any of those. The Americans claim to be the holiest and most democratic nation in the world ..... that's a bunch of shit as we all know .... The American president that is meant to symbolise the pinnacle of democracy in our times is a stinking liar so it is only natural for our small republic that is like a child learning to walk to have some strange personas running it.

What about the Government, have they distorted or purified the Croat past? How ?

Int: Do you see any positive aspects of post war society? Role changes/ health?

Listen during the time of the former Yugoslavia you had nothing ... but after the war we have even less. We had the illusion that we could Create a great Croatia over night ... when a child starts to walk he moves step by step and cannot jump, but we tried to break the world high jump record before learning how to walk. Allot of money has been invested in the creation of highways and upgrading the current infrastructure of the nation but unfortunately we do not have sufficient funds to complete these projects which is another example of running before we can even walk. We firstly need to think about food before we go on to tackle such problems .... This is were we messed up.

Many things have changed but man has remained a man ..... If I was to enter all this in depth then it would be difficult for you to understand. During the time of the former Yugoslavia the communists were in power ... these same communists after the liberation became members of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) so the same

individuals from the old system are still in control of the current system ... life was good for them in the old days and is still good for them under the new system.

Int: What changes have been made to the Croat language during and after the civil war?

Petar Mielan Kachich that was a Franciscan monk wrote a translation of the bible while he was still writing the translation the Vatican made it clear that it did not approve of his translation .. even they tried to suppress our language but the monks tried hard to preserve this language of ours, but with the arrival of foreign powers such as the Turks, the Venetians, the Italians all left their mark upon this language and thus everything got mixed up. Our people always wanted to have their own dictionary but throughout the course of history someone constantly kept suppressing this wish .... Remember what I told you about the time I went to the army in 62 ... imagine how it was for those who went in to the army in the fifties, they had to learn Serbian if they were to survive. Now we come to the Croatian dictionary ... it is difficult for us all to understand all the changes, I believe it will only be the new generation that will completely understand this new dictionary ... I am incapable of doing so ... I will always use Serbian words. There is a plethora of words that are different and unique in Croatian. At the moment the Croatian and the Serbian dictionaries are a world apart.

Int: Why do you think these changes were made?

If we wanted to liberate ourselves from their religion and all that then it is only right to get rid of their words as well ... these foreign words. This was a form of cleansing ... spiritual and everything else.

### **Feelings towards member of the antecedant Yugoslav Federation.**

How do I feel about the Serbs? .... Well they didn't do anything to me personal but I would like to fuck all their god damn mothers ... Well I think it's best you erase what I have just said and state that I just don't like the bastards.

### **Government and heritage.**



Well the former Yugoslavia used to delete heritage .. they used to ban anything that was not to their interest, they basically preferred many things not to exist ... Everything at that time was turned upside down and the truth was bent into shapes that were not recognisable any more. After the war many truths are coming out ... many people are talking about what they have witnessed, these are the people that they did not manage to kill off. Heritage is just now surfacing for us because the old regime had set fire to it ... burnt it, destroyed it and whatever else you can imagine but now it's back ... Maybe there are no more documents to prove things but there are people alive that are beginning to speak ... the same people that worked for the secret police in the old regime are beginning to talk too.

Int: Could it be that they are lying.

No ... everything that has surfaced after the war is factual. Let me tell you something .. there was someone called Boykovats who was some kind of boss in Zagreb was accepted as a minister from Franyo Tudgman in 1990 but in 1989 a year before his appointment he was the chief of secret police in Zagreb, then Tudgman went on to use everyone that was in power during the old regime even though we knew that they all needed to be removed ... Now all this is coming into the light ... that's why I tell you that even though all documentation is gone there are still people that will point the finger and say the truth and according to me that is most important of all.

### **Variations in the number of post war museums**

The number has not changed ... everything is the same, the only real difference is that the existing ones are going to ruin because we do not have the money to rebuild anything.

## MEMO

The interview with Vyekoslav was very interesting but extremely trying, he had an amazing amount of information to give but the critical and most upsetting element in this interview was in keeping him calm enough to continue talking.

Vyekoslav was highly aggressive throughout the interview, he was ironic and constantly questioning my capability to carry out this research. Vyekoslav seemed to develop the idea that I was questioning him as a government agent and became very upset about this at one stage during the interview.

Throughout the entire interview and especially after the dictaphone was turned off Vyekoslav displayed classic characteristics of Paranoid Schizophrenia, in many of his arguments and especially on his thoughts of how the entire planet was out to conquer Croatia because it is ever so precious. It was made clear that this individual has no respect towards Western educational institutions which he claimed to be “primitive”. He feels that the West has nothing positive to offer, he believes that Western nations are predominantly to blame for the current poverty within the country.

Following the end of the interview Vyekoslav made it a point to launch an all out attack on my competence as a researcher and individual, he stated that I was incapable of carrying out this research because I was trained by a Western institution.



**Appendix Three**  
**The “Enlightened” Subject**

**Interview # 6**

Location: Split

Name- Renata Shirovich

Occupation - Defectologist

Age - 35

**Renata on why she visits the site**

Why? Many reasons .. because I have to go through it no matter what I have to do, whether that is shopping or going to the cinema, I also visit the palace when I need to absorb my own heritage and I also have to be there because of my job a few times a year in order to show kids around .... We take all classes there ... we feel that it is important. My favourite part of the palace is the peristil and the dungeons, the cathedral etc.

Int: Do you visit other sites?

Yes I do, the older the period illustrated the better, I love antiques.

What do you feel you get out of the experience of visiting this site?

Well of course I do .. it is only normal .. I feel that I am a part of all this .... This is over 1700 years old and I feel proud to be a part of all this, the culture, the tradition and all the rest.

**Perceptions on why people visit the site**

The peristil is my favourite part of this museum, it has no influence upon me as such but I feel that there are some people that have a strong artistic side to their characters and I think that it is these people that tend to appreciate more the age and architecture of this palace, some other individuals though might not notice anything at all.

**When asked if there were any artefacts in the palace that invoke the Serb link to the Croats?**

In the palace? What role does the palace have with the Serbs?

**Renata on Serb artefacts within the palace and her emotions towards heritage and politics.**

If they were there then yes, if they existed then they need to be left alone .. that is all heritage and I am extremely anti any meddling within heritage .. why should it be removed. After the second world war the partisans destroyed all representations of fascism, that is a tragedy .. we used to have a wonderful fountain on the Riva and they dynamited it .. That fountain was a work of art, the reason they gave for destroying It was that it reminded them of the Italians ... but what the hell do the Italians have to do with our art? How can a fountain represent fascism? It is just art.

**Perceptions on the past.**

I was never bothered about that at the time, I feel I was too young to give a damn about that.

**Perceptions on the present.**

Now ... the present ... it is so sad, well my family had no losses during the war ... but when I think about the rest ... many families ended up without fathers, children and many family members ... For them it must be terrible to see what is happening today, you see they and my husband included did not fight for this shameful situation in Croatia .. It is a pity. Things could have been so much better by now ..... I understand that we were at war and things must be bad for a while, but why is it that a small number of ex party member have become multi millionaires and the majority are suffering .. not being able to feed themselves and eating out of rubbish dumps.

**Thoughts on what it means to be Croat.**



Me? .. I was born having this identity so I have never thought about it ... it's like me being born having been given this name, there is no use in thinking about it.

Int: Has this changed since the Civil war?

No not at all, I mostly feel like a citizen of this planet and to myself all people are the same, I accept all colours, nationalities and religions .. what does it matter who people are.

### **Renata on ideological variations between Serbs and Croats.**

No .. only with these fucking imbesilik old monkeys and the chetniks ... but I can say that ninety percent of the people are fine, I have even now friends that are Serbs.

### **Thoughts on whether or not the Croats envisaged themselves as being a member of a larger whole and Memories on the former Yugoslavia.**

I don't really know .. before we never gave much thought to questions like that, they (the Serbs) always had the last word, whether in politics or in the army they were in control.

### **Renata's thoughts on authenticity.**

You mean has it changed ... well of course it has to have been altered through 1700 years, around the 1600's people moved in to the palace and made pieces of it into apartments, but on the other hand the heritage aspect of the palace has not been altered and that is why it is so valuable.

Int: Has the representations within this site changed or developed (cleansed) since the beginning of the civil war.

You mean ha it been bombarded? .. no .. the only other changes that I can think of is that after the war they changed the names of streets that had Serb origins, yes that is true but on the other hand they did the same to the whole city.

### **Perceptions on media and heritage.**

Victors throughout history have always dictated heritage, he who had won always altered the facts in order to suite him so you see heritage has never been authentic.

**Renata on the link between media and government.**

That's the same thing ... the media has always been under the control of the government.

The media? .. well it's all the same, I mean politics and the media, you see the TV channels that we are watching now are owned by the HDZ (Croatian Democratic Union) which is the same way that the communists did things .. no difference.

**Renata's thoughts on the effects of war upon post war society.**

No ... there are many negative ones though ... there are many people now that are suffering from post traumatic syndrome and they are being looked after now .. there have been a large amount of suicides over the last three years within this group of people, that is horrible.

**Impressions of a new language.**

Many words have been changed oral and even written the use something like what my mother used to use forty years ago, the design of some letters have been changed ... definitely many words that have Serb or foreign dependency .. they were all changed.

Int: Why do you think these changes were made and are these words authentic or just made up? .

No these are truly old words .... We changed the language in order to get closer to our roots but it is difficult for my generation because we have gone accustomed to the usage of the old words, now I have to force myself to speak properly especially me because I work at a school, I have to be careful how I speak ... it is not many words



but still whenever preparing for a lecture I have to check just to make sure that I am politically correct.

Int: How did these changes come about?

Well a new Croatian dictionary was introduced by academics who specialise in this, this is nothing new you see .. it might be new for us but all these words were in use before our time.

Do you think that this new language helps offer the Croats an exclusive or more acceptable past?

No! ...most of the people did not even feel these changes take place, only us who work at educational establishments have to watch it but generally the indigenous population did not notice the changes taking place.

### **Perceptions of the Serb people.**

Serbs ... there are people and people basically, I never noticed anyone by the colour of their skin or their nationality, I accept all people as they are. I don't think of them as Serbs .. my husband has a very good friend who is a Serb ... his father used to fight for Serbia during the war but his son never left here so this is a strange situation especially when I tell people I get very strange looks .. there is the hate aspect I guess but most of the younger generation do not look at things from this angle.

### **Renata on heritage consumption within Croatia.**

As Croats? ... Heritage?.... Well normally people don't feel this and don't think about this, I believe this is just a political tool if you like, utilised in order to spark off hatred.

I work within an educational establishment so I have to do this ... it is part of my job. teaching heritage I mean, I work with this daily and unfortunately new things keep surfacing especially the atrocities committed by the partisans during the end of the

second world war, we just now are beginning to uncover the truth ... I remember I used to learn completely different things at school about the partisans ... the Blaiburg massacre ... all this was covered and idealised.

### **Thoughts on government intervention and heritage.**

It has been remade and cleansed ... purified by the government just as it was at the end of the second world war ... I feel this is truly disgusting, they say that Vukovar was sold out .. Tudgman sold it out to the Serbs knowing what was about to happen .. who knows what the truth is ..... we will only find out within about forty years from now. You cannot continuously dwell within the past, these things hurt us for a few years but one must move forwards, you need to cross it out and live on normally otherwise you would lose your senses.

Int: Since the beginning of the war have you noticed the Government utilising the Croat heritage?

Tudgman is a bloody communist so there is no former regime ... you see they are just doing what the hell they did before so yes of course the bloody government is selling us our own heritage in order to shut us up, how could I have trust in them?. I think that it has not yet dawned on the west that Tudgman has a PhD in history so what he has done and doing within this field is scandalous ... how can these people look at themselves in the mirror ... for gods sake he was a damned communist general, the youngest general that Tito had. My question to Tudgman is if you are stating the truth now then why the hell did you not tell us this forty years ago? ..... why now do you ask that religion be taught in school when you never stepped into a church during the time of the former regime? ..... this is all lies and I despise all this.

Why do you think the media and the government have taken such a large interest in national heritage?

### **Renata's thoughts on post war variations in the numbers of museums.**



It's the same amount generally ... some have disappeared especially the ones that had a Serb or Yugoslav theme, generally though in Split there have been minimal fluctuation within the number of museums.

## MEMO

Renata is extremely well educated as a person, she is highly intelligent and well spoken. Renata did not wish to be interviewed at the site and invited me to her home where she was more comfortable speaking about the subject.

Renata remained very calm throughout the interview and always maintained eye contact.

After turning off my Dictaphone, Renata informed me of the dangers of speaking to an outsider. She explained that her co operation could have negative side effects on herself and her family both in a sociological sense (she claims that people will turn their backs on them) and a political sense (apparently all unfriendly thoughts are dealt with by imprisonment or disappearance of the offending party and their whole family).

Renata also explained how corrupt the system was by using as an example the medical profession. Apparently doctors will only see patients if they are paid in cash (even though they work in public hospitals) and will operate on whoever pay's them most.



## **Interview # 8**

Location: Split

Name- Daniel Aluyevich “Let me remind you since we are on the subject that this is one of the eldest families in Split”

Occupation - Electrician

Age - 66

### **Changes within the site.**

Well I go through every time I go into town. When you look at the way the palace was and what they made of it, ..... Well at the moment I don't like anything in it any more.

### **Daniel on how it used to be.**

Hmmm... well the way it used to be, at the time when it was built it was something truly magnificent, but now .... Well you know how Split was built ... At that time they used to take stones from the palace in order to build other houses, then they used to break parts of the palace .. overall they never looked after it, you see that even today at the Gergur (statue) around that small market place there is an ancient burial ground. Outside the palace looks like a rectangle let's say, in the outskirts started being built various structures and outside the palace was a large burial ground. Apparently this ancient burial ground is older than the palace which is dated at 1700 years old, only now are they beginning to dig up remains and on the road to Solin they have found an Aqueduct for water transportation which was built for the Tsar Diocletian. They claim that there is a underground route between Diocletian's Palace and Solina, so it was possible to travel underground and reach this town ..... but all this research is expensive so nothing has been done to find all this.

### **Daniel on visiting other sites.**

Well listen .... The museum of Split ... well I don't really visit all this now. When I was in school I used to visit this stuff a lot .... You know ... every year they used to drag us around these museums, the museum of Split, of Meshtrovich (a sculptor) and then ..... many more. Few of us locals go to these museums, for these foreigners it is interesting but for me it is no longer so because there is no museum around these parts that I haven't been to.

### **Thoughts on the existence of Serb artefacts.**

..... no ..... You really need to ask an archaeologist these questions but as far as I know ... no, there aren't any.

Well listen as a Croat maybe, I don't think as all Croats but I think that if these two religious beliefs found common ground 100 years ago and these people lived together at some time then these artefacts must be respected.

### **Perceptions of the Serbs as a people.**

Diocletian was not a Catholic in fact he killed Catholics ... so normally there will not be many crucifixes around the palace, because he hated the Catholics but the Serbs they have no God ... that is my opinion.

These people (Serbs) on one hand are prepotential, they want whatever is theirs to be the best and the strongest ... At this point we never found common ground with them ... you understand.

A Serb always wants to have the last word ... If you said that this is a square meter then he would say that it is not exactly so, because one of the sides is not exactly straight, but in the end when you get upset and sick of dealing with him then he will accept that yes, this is a crooked square meter or this is a circle. That is why we could never really get on with them.



When this was under Austrian rule we used to get on better with them even if they are a different peoples with a different language and all that ... much better then we got on with the Serbs. After the first world war we all said “we said all these things against the Austrians but these Serbs are even worse” .... Serbs ..... I used to have Serbs working for me, they used to come along with a high school diploma and they wanted to be the boss and the crazy part of it all was they became the boss ..... But when it comes down to culture and heritage then I still believe that it is wrong to destroy their relics, I am against all that, they said that they put a Serb church on fire ... well even if they came long after us it is still wrong, even they have had effects on Croat culture ....

They also have their intelligent people and smart ideas so it is wrong of us to judge them through ten bad apples, but when they attack your culture then this is not right.

### **Perceptions of the past.**

Well I will give you an example which I believe you don't need to transcribe. When I was in 1957 on Trest which is a small island, I spent three years there ... The locals told me that they did not want to speak Croat but Italian because they belonged to Italy for many years and their last few generations studied at Italian educational institutions. So once I told them to speak in Croat, if they knew how, at times when we were in conversation they used to say “you know what, I don't like this Yugoslavia, I would have preferred that we remained under Italy” after 1945 this island was returned to Yugoslavia “ I said why and he said, during the war sugar in Rome cost four Lira and here it cost only two Lira” you understand everything here was cheaper, people used to buy ... so this is how I answer the question of whether we lived well in Yugoslavia.

In Yugoslavia we were all more or less politically correct ... there were so many republics that you couldn't pay an engineer in Belgrade a salary of .. lets say five thousand Deutsche Marks and an engineer in Zagreb or Split two thousand, there had to be a balance because this would lead to questions of why does the Slovenian have more or why does the Serb have this whilst we don't. So generally they kept us beneath the poverty line ... there was little money ... whoever left Yugoslavia lets say

to work in Germany had three times as much .. for example one of my cousins that lived in Zagreb went to take care of children even though she was a University graduate. She went to the UK in order to make money out of being an au pair, regardless of the fact that she was trained to work as a teacher of the English language ... and she got married and stayed in London ... she never wanted to return and never has done so, not even to this day. She used to look after children and was receiving a salary three times larger than if she was working as a lecturer at a University over here.

After the end of the second world war there was hunger. It is a normal state after every war, there comes corruption and some supposed great traders who are supposed to be all knowing, thus after the second world war if it wasn't for the Truman help which we asked for and other American help we will have died of hunger. There was nothing ... nothing, people used to cook grass. No matter how hungry I was though I knew that the people in Serbia and Slovenia felt the same pain, and after that we started investing all our money in industry, we had nothing .... Then started the industrial age ... electrolisation ... We had no electricity around this part, half of the town had no electricity and now we had to invest in all this industrialisation. We started to build gigantic factories, each employed a few thousand workers .... We are being punished for this to the very day ... If we built small factories like intelligent people, you know how it is ... you open a bakery that puts out one hundred kilos of bread and then when the population grows you make two hundred kilos and so on but today out of all these huge factories we have nothing but a very large weight on our shoulders. So factories were being built and people started coming from the villages to work in the factories, because industry centralised itself within the larger cities .... Then agriculture started suffering because no more did anyone wish to dig but everyone wanted to go to a factory and be employed to carry out a single movement all day long, he worked eight hours and went home ... Saturdays and Sundays were holidays. Many villagers moved into the cities and enrolled themselves on some courses and that's how people made ends meet .... These villagers destroyed half of Diocletians palace because they had nowhere else to live and they moved into the dungeons and demolished parts and extended other. Finally they became citizens of Split, the same thing happened in Zagreb .... Most of the villages moved into Zagreb, they left their potatoes and cucumbers and moved into Zagreb. You know there where



poor people everywhere but if one knew he was poor then he would go to the cities where one knew they could create a better standard of life, so this is how agriculture was destroyed but on the other hand industry was becoming powerful.

In the mean time we lived ..... in Yugoslavia we were not communists like the Russians, not in the same way anyway .... It was a system of socialism which would have been good if it was correctly and honestly run .... For example let's say that you are a Professor and I am an ordinary worker but I have the same hunger like you so you must feed me like you but taking into consideration your knowledge ... have this much more, but I cannot be hungry and you rich not knowing what to do with your money. In this Croatia going back to your question ... we used to live better before ... I went to Mirovina in 1984 with a salary of 1800 marks .... and now my salary is 500 marks ..... This is not just myself but everyone that you see around here, apart from some who did not have enough money to buy themselves a winter coat and now they are buying shipbuilding factories, they are buying anything that moves these people are buying complete islands !! ... But this cannot be so, the government in this new Croatia is allowing one to hardly be able to feed himself but they tell him "listen you now have a free Croatia" but who would not want to see a free and independent Croatia? Isn't that so, but why should you be able to buy and expand as you wish, take my land, illegally build wherever you wish whilst you don't even allow me to feed my family. This is the way things are now, I think that in Socialism it is not easy to enter into capitalism, it is difficult, you get used to a certain social balance and all of a sudden you are in a situation where someone who is more intelligent and aware takes all from himself and the poor and honest individual get robbed blind.

We all love being independent like all nations, we are not complaining as I told you that I had a salary of 1800 marks which at that time was consistent to what the average German worker was being paid, but now we are getting less than 50% less but still we won't take out loans in order to join the global marketplace .... We wait and wait ... you see Croats are a people that strongly believe that tomorrow will be a better day, we are great optimists and that is what saves us. The Serbs by mentality though do not think that tomorrow will be a better day but they think that tomorrow we will live like nobody else because we will possess everything ... But a Croat doesn't think this way ... he wished to be left alone in his land, his house and his

gardens ... he says let me be in peace so that I can live here, I am not interested in what happens over there .... That is what kind of people we are we are always expecting better days, we were under the Austro Hungarian empire and we waited for better days then came Yugoslavia after the fall of the empire and it took over all these small republics that were under the Austro Hungarian empire and we thought “yes “ O great Yugoslavia, we share the same language and almost all else .... But the same thing happened then came the war and all joined the partisans and fought against Fascism, many of the young died but at the end of the war we were hungry but still sang all day of happiness because we managed to liberate ourselves and even then some started pulling the balance of power and became power hungry but if one was caught then the police looked as we used to say through their fingers .... They considered who you knew ... thousands left these shores at that time but we still awaited better times. We never disturbed other members of the country, we never had any illusions that other Republics belonged to us because it just interests us ... why? ... we have our own Croatia .... We will live but still we never saw better days ..... I don't know, maybe tomorrow will be a better day, I have aged and can no longer await tomorrow I have always been awaiting this tomorrow .... I have been waiting for a brighter day for 65 years now ...

I was in Germany a few times, I was there in order to gain experience and specialise in my job ... I was there every year from ten to fifteen days .... I would make so many Marks that I didn't know how to spend them, because everything was paid for and when I used to come back here I had such a feeling of disappointment which came from the pit of my stomach that all I wanted to do was to walk back, that is how it was.

### **Daniel's thoughts on what it means to be Croat.**

Well listen ... what it personally means to myself ..... I am glad to be Croat .... I wouldn't appreciate it if someone was to come up to me and say “ if you were a German you would have more”, I have my house, my country and that's enough.



I am proud to be Croat ... my folks are from Split, in fact one of the oldest families around but my mother is from Podravina so both of them are from Croatia but from two different parts of the country. She is from East Croatia and my father is from Dalmatia (the coast) and these are two links that are as Croatian as can be ... as people say that is. I am proud to be Croat as I have said to you, but one cannot live on pride and die a hungry man!

### **Thoughts on distinct ideological and physical characteristics that the Croats possess?**

Well ... there are many aspects that set apart the Croats from the Serbs ..... For instance, there are many things that set apart us from the Slovenians, for example when you go to Slovenia you instantly realise that the Slovenians refuse to speak Croat to you ... So if a Croat goes to Slovenia he must have a basic knowledge of Slovenian but on the other hand when they come over to Croatia and if it is in their interest then they speak perfect Croat.

Serbs are a people which possess a special mentality. I have been around them quite a bit, even on vacations and we used to get along wonderfully. We used to get together and sing, but the Serb must always be the boss though ... that is that .... Overall they are happy and social people and even better at some things such as humour ... that is the reason why we always suffered, because someone was always on our backs ... and we just had to put up with this.

### **Perceptions of authenticity**

No .... All the outside walls are authentic but overall so much inside of the palace has been demolished, but my opinion which I want to make clear is that they should throw out all the people that are currently living in the palace ... But in order to do so you need money and rebuild everything so that it can be as it once was ...and the centre of the palace should become a cultural centre with maybe even faculties of the University inside.

It should be forbidden to build anything inside the palace or for people to live inside, because those people who move in they make the place look dirty and destroy parts of the palace. The original inhabitants of Split have long ago moved out of this part of the city and now we see people moving in from villages who have no respect for the palace as a heritage site .... The villager comes around and sees some old stone who someone put there a couple of hundred years ago ... this person will break it and take it back to the village to look at.

### **Daniel on post war changes within the site.**

Well ... many of the streets have been renamed .. but that is normal, every establishment did that. Within a well known comedy after the Second World War called Velo Misto a barber stated that last year he lived on a road that had an Italian name whilst this year he lives on a road that has a Serbian name.

Here there used to be three strong firms i.e. Yugoplastika, Yugovinir the shipbuilding where we were third best in the world, you had a few other metal industries and whatever else which I don't remember ... and then there was nowhere near the amount spent today on the restoration of the palace because at that time everybody just rounded up money for themselves, without money there is nothing ... but we now invest in the palace because it serves as a tourist attraction and a cultural centrepiece in society.

As soon as the winter comes work will start on the palace again, they will start digging and cleaning inside the place .... Many of those who lived inside have been made to move out, now the fact that they are changing names is normal since every government has its own heroes which streets will be named after but maybe they should use the names of the Tsar Diocletians officers.

### **Thoughts on the media .**

Well ... you know what .. in the birth of any republic such as us there can be no extensive liberty of the media ... because they need to lie a bit. Before we had 100 newspapers that all reported on the same thing and shared a uniformed opinion but



now we have left wing papers, rights wing papers and the opposition of course. bit by bit there is progress, its only television ....

The television that is watched by 99 percent of the population is owned by the system and the small TV broadcasting networks such as TV Split have been taken off air by the system, just as simple as that ... They took them off because they had unwanted guests that insulted the government ... these guests talked about the sudden wealth developed by the select few, they talked about the theft of the system and thus the government simply forbade them to go on. The government always found some silly reason such as back taxes in order to shut these people down. The same happened to TV Marian, the order came over night that they hadn't paid something and their station was raided and shut down.

### **The sociological aftermath of war.**

The media massively exaggerate heritage ..... I am personally very much against this .... They have to think a bit of the future. What the hell will heritage do for me ... I go to meetings at work and some idiot stands up and tells us how 500 years ago we had our own republic, we had a royal family and this and that ... That does not interest me that much, it pleases me to hear this but if I come to your house as a visitor and me and you for example have to decide on the ownership of some land that we bought together, you say I want this and I say I will take that, then you start telling me of some cockamamie stupidity about some Croatian King and that ... but at that point I say stop! We came here to split up this piece of land and hope to have a better future ... it's like they all suffer from some kind of complex, maybe it is because during the former regime we could not speak freely about what we lost and at that time we could not speak of Raditch, Ban Yelachich and all those Croatian Kings ... We couldn't even whisper their names in fear of persecution ... we were ordered to forget all that, but the Serbs on the other hand had festivals to celebrate their kings ... if you were to start singing a song of Bano Yelachich then you would end up in jail, a Serb officer told my wife once "your heritage will end up in the scrapyard". Their aim was to destroy the Croatian heritage because a Croat without heritage cannot breathe and that is the reason why we are all so engulfed within our heritage because it was forbidden.

Now though we have gone over the line with it, now we can talk about it and all are trying to prove how much they know about their heritage, it proves how great a Croat you are. The people are caught up in a euphoria that comes after war where all want to be the Greatest Croats ... but this is not a phenomenon that is specifically characteristic of the Croat nation, all nations are like this ... for example, if tomorrow the Irish were to liberate themselves from the UK then I am sure that there will be a similar sort of response from the Irish people.

### **Thoughts of media distortions of heritage.**

The media did not distort heritage but they use it far too much .. they have overdone it ... I can understand that they want to inform us of our past but heritage has become the opening line for every speech every damned soap opera ... nothing can happen without someone stating “we come from here from that, did this, did that”. Hey!! Come on now! What about all these factories that have been lying dormant for years ... what will you do with that, this is getting on the peoples nerves ... I could understand all this after the war but it has been years since the end of it and even though I thought that things would calm down in this heritage bonanza the situation has escalated to new heights.

### **Daniel's thoughts on the government**

Well ... you know what ... if you have a president and a political party, this party manages to get into power then it is only normal for the party members to uphold the politics of their institution even though there will certainly be individuals within the system that do not agree with the actions of their party but they will obey. If the government could be formed of a opposition as well as a leading party then we could be at a healthier political structure.

### **Perceptions of a new language**

Listen ..... maybe if I was two hundred years old I would not laugh at some of these new words because that is how long ago they were in use but now I laugh at the



changes, I won't even mention how the younger generation have reacted ..... You now that the Croats always wanted to have something they could call their own and that is because they had always lived under foreign rule, for example how are the months named in Croatia? 80 percent of the population use the English language to name months since it is a language that is more or less dominant in the world stage ... but us Croats have our own way because we were always farmers, so we called the months by the farm work that needed to be done at that time ... Szyechan is the month when we cut wood, Ruyanka when all is in blossom, Studenik is when the cold comes and Prosinats when we go to beg before the new year that is how we are ... At that time one had to beg in order to be able to eat chicken for new years which you could not normally eat despite the fact that you grew chickens, so you see now this is how we according to our poor way of life have even named the months of the year.

Int: How did these changes come about?

These new words .... well they are not really new they are old Croatian words .... I never heard of most of them like let's say the word Tisucha (thousand) it is an old word which replaced Hiliada that originates from our Serbian influence, but there is a problem here ... Tisucha is also used by the Russians thus the change doesn't really mean we are returning to our roots .... It was a fiasco after the war if someone was to walk in to bakers and say I would like a Hiliada Dinars worth of bread. People used to look at you strange ... as if you had just come out of space.

Int: Do you think that this new language helps offer the Croats as a nation an exclusive or more acceptable past?

We could not use our own words under the old regime and now these words have returned with a vengeance. After I was born Hitler rose to power and I lived for seven years under the Italian's and we had to learn Italian at school, it was unthinkable to utter a Croatian word ..... and then I spent three years learning Italian in school ..... Then came the Germans under which there were no schools because they used to bomb them, there was poverty and hunger all round .... Then came Yugoslavia and one had to learn Chirilitsa (Serbian written form) which was a core subject at all educational institutions, we had to learn their words for instance I say Bilo (white)

and they say Byeilo .... And thus we never really had our own words. These Croatian words now are surfacing left right and centre, whether they are necessary or not

### **Emotions towards other member of the former Yugoslavia.**

Well ..... I have lived through a shock concerning the Serbs .... We were there friends, we worked with them, we celebrated and ate with them and they stuck a knife in our back. I agree that it was never within their interest that Yugoslavia be destroyed ... not them ....

Serbs started the trouble by ruling out the autonomy of Kosovo , they joined it with Serbia ..... in Voivodina they did the same then they started with the Croats .... and when things sparked off over here then they started on Bosnia, when we realised how these people were behaving , the same people that ate and drank with me were now thinking of how they were going to throw me out of my own home and land .... That is the moment when all us Croats were shocked and maybe developed an overwhelming hatred towards the Serbs.

It is not a strange occurrence for a Croat that has lost loved ones in the war to say “May God fuck their mothers and may their cursed leg never again set foot upon Croat land” ..... people used to say that we should build something like the great wall of China to keep us apart ..... yes that is how much we hate them. This hatred though I believe will simmer down with time.

### **Daniel on government intervention within heritage.**

Well listen ..... if Serb heritage was in question then the previous government took a much larger interest because in that old government there were three Serbs and one Croat, this fourth individual though was not necessarily Croat ..... it could have been a Slovenian or a Macedonian or anyone else.

The Serbs used to put the brakes on our heritage, not only us .. they did the same to the Slovenians and the Macedonians .... They always used to say that Macedonia was



Eastern Serbia ... it seems that they could never come to terms with the fact that this is Macedonia. Dalmatia they thought belonged to them ... that is why we Dalmatians are most upset with them, Dalmatia is where we had our kings ... Dalmatia is the heart of Croatia.

### **Variations in museum within the post war period.**

Well listen most museums that concentrated on Yugoslavia were left to decay or destroyed ..... now we concentrate all our efforts on what we know from history to be Croatian, we are putting a lot of money into this .... I read the papers every day and apparently the government is investing a large part of the budget into heritage. We have created more roads after the war than Yugoslavia ever did, at least three times as much. We did mostly target churches .... Especially churches that are over 500 years old .... This troubled the Serbs our heritage that is, so when they bombarded Split the very first shell landed into the archaeological museum of Split ... they wanted to destroy this, their first objective was to destroy our heritage because a people without a past have no future .... It's exactly what that Serb officer told me "the Croat past should go to the junkyard", they realised how involved we are in our heritage.

Grandfathers tell their grandchildren of the old Croatian Kings .. this is a pleasure that was previously forbidden, they had to destroy this .... We live of our heritage. Fuck the Serbs ..... they become eighteen and they get up and roam around the world but not us .... We are different ... if we go that means we have been forced out by hunger, politics or luck .... We tend to hold on to our homes our nation and this is holy to us ..... in that exact way our heritage is also holy ..... I adore going to the archaeological museum and seeing the cot of the first Croatian King.

## MEMO

I met Daniel on the island of Ciovo in a little village called Slatine. Daniel was very willing to speak to me and was quite casual about being interviewed. He as many others invited me to his home in the outskirts of the island of Ciovo where I was made to feel very much at home and welcome. Daniel came across as a very well read and calm gentleman. One of his predominant characteristics was that he chain smoked throughout our one-hour interview. He tended to make minimal eye contact whilst talking and mostly stared out across the balcony at the sea.

The interview was one of the longest I had taped (about one hour was spent talking before I started taping and after I switched off the Dictaphone I spent a further three hours with Daniel) and one of the most interesting. I feel that this one man had more of an insight and understanding to the current crisis than half of my informants put together.



**Appendix Four**  
**Emerging Concepts**

**1. *Severing the links of a common Yugoslav identity***

- *Duye Dorich, Interview # 4: Let them get rid of all of it ... Serbs are a different people ... they attacked us, they killed us.*
- *Ivana Shkrobitsa, Interview # 3: Well ... we belong to the west. We are more cultural whilst they are more aggressive, they just concentrate on obtaining what is not theirs whilst we on the other hand concentrate on developing what really belongs to us.*
- *Danira Yeleska, Interview # 10: "The damned Serbs ... they sparked off both world wars and they just missed out in sparking off the third..."*
- *Daniel Aluyevich, Interview # 8: "The Serbs are a different people, they have no God ..... that is my opinion."*
- *Ivana Franich, Interview # 13: " The Serbs are much more aggressive than us .... We are just interested in our own and don't really care about others land."*

**2. *Disappointment in the past***

- *Vyekoslav Domich, Interview # 9: "in the past whoever was in power lived well"*
- *Daniel Aluyevich, Interview # 8: "I was in Germany a few times, I was there in order to gain experience and specialise in my job ... I was there every year from ten to fifteen days .... I would make so many Deutsch Marks that I didn't know how to spend them, because everything was paid for, when I used to come back here I had such a feeling of disappointment which came from the pit of my stomach that all I wanted to do was to walk back, that is how it was."*

### **3. Disappointment in the present**

- *Antonia Pavichin, Interview # 11*: "... I think that even though I am free I have a terrible standard of living."
- *Renata Shirovich, Interview # 6*: "... many families ended up without fathers, children and many family members ...for them it must be terrible to see what is happening today, you see they and my husband included did not fight for this shameful situation in Croatia ..it is a pity. Things could have been so much better by now ..... I understand that we were at war and things must be bad for a while, but why is it that a small number of ex party member have become multi millionaires and the majority are suffering .. not being able to feed themselves and eating out of rubbish dumps."
- *Renata Andriyolich, Interview # 2*: "Well I feel that there are actually less (heritage sites), lets see for example when I was younger they used to take us on excursions to Tito's house which was a museum, but now that house does not exist any more .. as a museum that is ... you see it is still there but nobody goes there any more ... it's just disgraceful. All statues and remnants of the Second World War have been destroyed .. but why, why rewire history."

*INT: so Tito is a taboo subject.*

*"Yes he is but that is just a fiasco for us .. it is shameful .. if we are ashamed of our past then we do not have any future at all."*

### **4. Need for a convenient and acceptable past.**

- *Vyekoslav Domich, Interview # 9*: "The government has brought our heritage back .. they brought back Ban Yelachich who was banned by the communists"
- *Daniel Aluyevich, Interview # 8*: "Well listen, most museums that concentrated on Yugoslavia were left to decay or destroyed ... now we concentrate all our efforts on what we know from history to be Croatian, we are putting a lot of money into



*this .... I read the papers every day and apparently the government is investing a large part of the budget into heritage."*

#### **5. The need for a separate and distinct identity.**

- *Ivana Shkrobitsa, Interview # 3: "Pride .... Satisfaction in having your very own nationality ... knowing you belong to a certain people .. having your own territory and not borrowing a foreign identity."*
- *Daniel Aluyevich Interview # 8: ". I am proud to be Croat ... my folks are from Split, in fact one of the oldest families around .."*
- *Cane Dorilich, Interview # 7: "... .... Personally ..... I am a great nationalist, these are my people, I am an extremist and I am proud to have my nation ..... an independent nation."*

#### **6. Reinforcing a new identity**

- *Daniel Aluyevich, Interview # 8: "Well listen ... what it personally means to myself ..... I am glad to be Croat ..... I wouldn't appreciate it if someone was to come up to me and say " if you were a German you would have more" , I have my house, my country and that's enough.."*
- *Ivana Shkrobitsa, Interview # 3: "I have a heritage, this is what has been left to me by my grandfathers ... and this is just mine!.."*

#### **7. Belief in the superiority of the new identity**

- *Ivana Franich, Interview # 13, "Yes we are more intelligent and much more beautiful as a nation. We are much warmer as characters .... I am not sure about physically but I know that we are superior as a nation.."*

- *Duye Dorich, Interview # 4: "Yes we are better than them. We are more intelligent .."*

## **8. Yugo nostalgia**

- *Danira Yeleska Interview # 10: "I used to have a better standard of life ..."*
- *Julia Batalia, Interview # 19: "I used to feel that all the members of the former Yugoslavia were my family..."*
- *Jure Brikan, Interview # 14: "Well in comparison to the past the present looks really bad ... there are great differences in the standard of life"*
- *Julia Batalia, Interview # 19: "..... Before things were better for me because I feel that I had it all, my father used to work and I went to school, wen I went out I had money in my pocket and my father was more prosperous"*

## **9. Acceptance of a common Yugoslav identity.**

- *Daniel Aluyevich, Interview # 8: " O great Yugoslavia, we share the same language and almost all else ...."*
- *Antonia Pavichin, Interview # 11: "....I personally would like to see Serbian remains if they signified the fact that our two nations lived as one...."*
- *Maria Kukech, Interview # 18: "Well in relation to Serbs ..... we are connected through being Slovaks and then through traditions and customs and to some extent I can say that the culture unites these two peoples..."*

## **10. Croat exclusion from a common Yugoslav identity**



- *Snyejana Reich, Interview # 1: "Well.. as I said that time between 1970 and 1990 in which it was very difficult to be a Croat.. a period where the public showing of the cross symbolised that you were a Croat and Ustashe .... "*
- *Danira Yeleska, Interview # 10: "There was always nationalism that set apart these two nations ..."*
- *Tonchi Bibich, Interview # 12: "There were many good things in the old regime but some bad things such as the stereotyping of the Croats to the Ustashe but what the hell ... even with my Serb friends we used to joke about this even though they sometimes called me HERKY (Croat), whenever they asked me where I came from I always use to say Croatia ... I was never ashamed of that"*
- *Snyejana Reich, Interview # 1: "it was not popular to be Croat within the old regime, fact is that many Croats just wanted to get out of this federation...."*

## ***11. Loss of Power / Control***

- *Ivava Shkrobtsa, Interview # 3: When asked about how she felt towards her past : "You mean the Serbian past ... well I don't really think about them..."*
- *Sanya Domich, Interview # 5 : "Well it's the same thing .. the media constantly distort things and lie .... But the Croats never had any power to make them stop doing this."*
- *Danira Yeleska, Interview # 10: "...we are now a independent republic, we have gotten rid of the Yugoslav's and are no longer being robbed of our money from tourism"*
- *Tonchi Bibich, Interview # 12: "... I think that it is good that we have brought back some Croat words .. I believe that the language used to be distorted form of the true language ..... it was "Serbified"..."*

- *Sanya Domich, Interview # 5: "the politicians control the government and the government control the media ... and they all think alike and do exactly the same thing. Do you know that the head of Croatian telecommunication is a fucking Serb .. doesn't that tell you all you need to know? It's just a war of politics"*

## **12. Belief in authenticity of site.**

- *Renata Andriyolich, Interview # 2(Trogir): "...No everything has mostly stayed the same except .. maybe now the heritage industry is concentrating more on what the Croats have achieved..... Croat artists etc etc ...."*
- *Sanya Domich, Interview # 5(Split): "Yes they are ..and they show us how life used to be in other times ... the only differences is that they keep on digging up more and more relics .."*
- *Martina Zekovich, Interview # 15(Zagreb): "..... to myself personally these representations of my past seem authentic."*

## **13. Belief in media manipulation of post war identity.**

- *Antonia Pavichin, Interview # 11: "These changes in the language were pushed into use by the media, they started using them and bit by bit we got used to these new words and started using them. This was not dictated to us ... there are a few words though that you must use  
INT: MUST?  
Yes you must ... well you would not be punished or fined if you didn't but you would be looked at strangely ..... eeem .... It is just expected of you."*
- *Renata Andriyolich, Interview # 2: "Before we heard the Serbs news... everything was in Serbian. Croat TV at that time was very small ... now though things are worse ... now they lie to us more, much more than the Serbs ever did... it's just pure politics, it's just that before they were Serbs and now they are Croats ... it's just the politics of spectacle, show and lies..."*



#### **14. Government sanitization of a post war identity**

- *Renata Andriyolich, Interview # 2: “Of course, well every government .. at least the last two that I have had the experience to see have just used heritage in order to serve their own ambitions ... so a piece of heritage that does not appeal to the government must not be taught at schools...”*
- *Danira Yeleska, Interview # 10: “They are pushing the limits really... they have overdone it, apparently they are digging up some old Croat word and are trying to cleanse the Croatian language of foreign impurities as they say ... they are reintroducing some words that haven't been used for hundreds of years and now the Croat people no longer understand their own language! To me these words are strange.”*
- *Ivana Franich, Interview # 13: “The government ... well it dictates heritage, that's where it all originates from. Their decisions together with media create a formidable weapon for the reinterpretation of historical facts.  
In this part of the world the government controls the media...”*
- *Renata Andriyolich, Interview # 2: “ When I was at school I had to learn about the Partisans and the Russians but now my sister does not know anything about all that, she only learns about the civil war, the HDZ and basically whatever the government thinks that we should know..”*
- *Tonchi Bibich, Interview # 12: “The changes in the language have helped this nation feel like It truly exists ... its nice to have your own language and to know that it is a pillar of ones nationalism. It is important not to go too far though as I have told you previously.”*
- *Danira Yeleska, Interview # 10: “Yes I do think that due to the financial and economic difficulties currently experienced by the Croats, the media together with*

*the government have perversely distorted heritage in order to offer the post modern consumer an acceptable past."*

- *Renata Andriyolich, Interview # 2: "... so a piece of heritage that does not appeal to the government must not be taught at schools"*
- *Danira Yeleska, Interview # 10: "Of course they did ... they did what the bloody Fascists did ... they changed and nostalgically cleansed all books that are being studied in school, if you compare the books that are being studied now with the ones studied a few years back you will find they contradict themselves in almost everything they claim.*

*INT: what happened to the old books?*

*I told you they banned them .. they were not to be used any more, all the old negative aspects of heritage have been rewritten to represent positive aspects now ... I am referring to important personas within heritage. so a I was saying nothing has really changed ... but we claim to be democratic and open towards Europe etc. etc."*

- *Renata Andriyolich, Interview # 2: " Today heritage is about what we have achieved .... Croat artists .... We use our heritage to reinforce our nationalism, you know .... we use what is positive for us."*
- *Duye Dorich, Interview # 4: "Today we learn about Croat history, whilst before we were only taught about Yugoslavia. I am Croat, I want to know about my own heritage."*

#### ***15. Belief in government and media's manipulation of post war identity***

- *Ivana Shkrobitsa, Interview # 3: "The media are controlled by the government, they only show us what the government want us to see..."*



- *Ivana Franich, Interview # 13: "The government ... well it dictates heritage, that's where it all originates from. Their decisions together with media create a formidable weapon for the reinterpretation of historical facts..."*
- *Martina Zekovich, Interview # 15: "...I believe that they have massively distorted our present through the use of our past..."*

#### **16. Identity sanitization policies of the former regime**

- *Maria Kukech, Interview # 18: "...in the past we were not allowed to talk about our heritage and our heritage was replaced by Serbian heritage..."*
- *Daniel Aluyevich, Interview # 8: "maybe it is because during the former regime we could not speak freely about what we lost and at that time we could not speak of Raditch, Ban Yelachich and all those Croatian Kings ... we couldn't even whisper their names in fear of persecution ... we were ordered to forget all that, but the Serbs on the other hand had festivals to celebrate their kings ... if you were to start singing a song of Ban Yelachich then you would end up in jail, a Serb officer told my wife once "your heritage will end up in the scrapyard" their aim was to destroy the Croatian heritage because a Croat without heritage cannot breathe and that is the reason why we are all so engulfed within our heritage because it was forbidden. "*

#### **17. Pride in the new identity**

- *Antonia Pavichin, Interview # 11: "...I feel proud to be Croat ... I would change various aspects of our mentality and lifestyle but overall I am glad to be a member of this society..."*
- *Danira Yeleska, Interview # 10: "I am proud to belong to something .... It is important to me as an individual to possess some from of heritage..."*

- *Yure Brikan, Interview # 14: “..... being Croat to myself is an honour because Croatia is one of the rare nations which possesses such a beautiful sea, overwhelming countryside, interesting and archaic heritage and that overall has a hard-working population and productive land.”*

#### **18. A pre-war clash of identities**

- *Tonchi Bibich, Interview # 12: “There were many good things in the old regime but some bad things such as the stereotyping of the Croats to the Ustashe but what the hell ... even with my Serb friends we used to joke about this even though they sometimes called me HERKY (Croat), whenever they asked me where I came from I always used to say Croatia ... I was never ashamed of that.”*
- *Sanya Domich, Interview # 5: “...I am talking about the media under the former regime, they just soiled the Croat paste by constantly reminding the people of the Ustashe and fascism in Croatia .. basically they created a false and negative impression of the Croat people during the Second World War”*
- *Tonchi Bibich, Interview # 12: “...when I went to school it was considered to be a fascist statement when someone uttered the word independence ... it was considered a negative thought ..... in fact it was a thought which could land you a lifetime prison sentence.”*
- *Daniel Aluyevich, Interview # 8: “... you see Croats are a people that strongly believe that tomorrow will be a better day, we are great optimists and that is what saves us. The Serbs by mentality though do not think that tomorrow will be a better day but they think that tomorrow we will live like nobody else because we will posses everything ... but a Croat doesn't think this way ... he wished to be left alone in his land, his house and his gardens ... he says let me be in peace so that I can live here, I am not interested what happens over there ... ”*

#### **19. Need for liberation/ independence.**



- *Ivana Franich, Interview # 13: "During the old regime we lived a lot better but on the other hand people were not free, people could not say that they were Croat in fear of persecution by the authorities."*
- *Yure Brikan, Interview # 14: " There was always some form of instability within this region but the Croats always wanted their independence, so we never wanted to be a part of this. We lost our independence in the 13<sup>th</sup> century and always dreamed of independence .... Now we have it."*
- *Ivana Shkrobitsa, Interview # 3: "Mostly there was a very strong nationalism from the Croats .... They (the government) tried very hard to make it clear to us that we are Croats, I think that they knew that some day the dream would become a reality."*
- *Renata Andriyolich, Interview # 2: "Well.... In our whole history we were never independent ... always under someone's control.... I think then came Tadjman who understood this and worked towards giving us our independence. This is a very deep need of the people.... To be Croats and nobody else.. I think that Tadjman did not have a hard time in convincing us to get out of Yugoslavia."*

## **20. Linking post war Croatia to Western culture**

- *Ivana Shkrobitsa, Interview # 3: "Well ... we belong to the west. We are more cultural whilst they are more aggressive,"*
- *Renata Andriyolich, Interview # 2: "Yes .... The Croats you see are more of a European nation than the Serbs or Bosnians... they on the other hand are typical of what I expect of the Balkans."*
- *Cana Dorilich, Interview # 7: "Yes there are physical variations and they are from a different culture, we are more linked to the west whilst they have strong links with the ottoman empire, the culture is different ... it's another religion."*

- *Nina Bara, Interview # 17: "There are differences in culture between us and the Serbs, there is a massive difference. The Serbs are closer to the Eastern mentality but we in the other hand posses a Western ideology."*

## **21. Anger & aggression**

- *Vjekoslav Domic, Interview # 9: ME: how do you feel about that Serb church?  
"It's not right! It's on my land!!!"*
- *Duye Dorich, Interview # 4: Let them get rid of all of it ... Serbs are a different people ... they attacked us, they killed us.*
- *Cane Dorilich, Interview # 7: "You turned this piece of shit on? Hey who the hell are you kidding turn this thing of!!! (still holding the Dictaphone he says) I am going to throw thus damned thing into the water !!!!, turn it off!!!!"*

## **22. Paranoid schizophrenia.**

- *Vyekoslav Domich, Interview # 9: "Do you know where is Velevit .... You don't even know were this is ... ha first of all you need to become aware of the geography and workings of this nation before you come around and question me  
INT: I am not questioning you but only want to learn from you.  
You are fucking incompetent just like everything else that comes from the west ...  
.....you ask me about heritage but you don't know where fucking Velevit is then there must be something wrong !!!! (he is getting upset, very red in the face).  
When a psychologist questions you the first thing he asks is were you come from]  
INT: I am not a psychologogist.  
The fuck your not .... You are incapable of questioning me ... you fucking foreigners just want us you just want to invade our country and take over.*
- *Cane Dorilich, Interview # 7: "I know why you want me ... you are a party member!! They sent you to get me, you just want me to say something that is*



*wrong and then you and the rest of the HDZ shit are going to lock old Cane up!!!!”*

- *Information from MEMO of Sanya Domich, Interview # 5: Overall Sanya made very clear to me that foreign interest was not welcomed in Croatia and that she felt that all western nations are populated by overweight and uncultured imbeciles. Sanya also confessed to me that the West is after the beauty of their nation thus the destruction of Yugoslavia was the only way for the West to gain control.*

### **23. Post war Manipulation of the Croatian language.**

- *Tonchi Bibich, Interview # 12: “The changes in the language have helped this nation feel like it truly exists ... its nice to have your own language and to know that it is a pillar of ones nationalism. It is important not to go too far though as I have told you previously.”*
- *Renata Andriyolich, Interview # 2: “Well from the beginning of the civil war us Croats must study the new Croatian language because we were not allowed to go on using the same language since it contained many Serbian words ... thus, they changed everything into Croat... like lets say avion (aeroplane) was changed into zrakoplov... you see some stupidities that we never heard of before. You must understand that all this came from the government ... everything that was Serbian or fascist in the former regime is now a taboo subject.”*
- *Ivana Shkrobitsa, Interview # 3: “This is purely and simply government manipulation. They did this because they have not managed to accomplished anything that they promised so with the use of the language they are trying to cover up ... these words never existed, they want Croats to think that they are great heroes that are trying to bring back the original Croat language ... they do this because they are incapable to develop the country in the correct areas .. economically ... spiritually.”*

#### **24. Pre war manipulation of the Croatian language.**

- *Daniel Aluyevich, Interview # 8: "We could not use our own words under the old regime and now these words have returned with a vengeance. After I was born Hitler rose to power and I lived for seven years under the Italian's and we had to learn Italian at school, it was unthinkable to utter a Croat word ..... and then I spent three years learning Italian in school ..... then came the Germans under which there were no schools because they used to bomb them, there was poverty and hunger all round .... Then came Yugoslavia and one had to learn Chirilitsa (Serbian written form) which was a core subject at all educational institutions, we had to learn their words for instance I say Bilo (white) and they say Byeilo .... And thus we never really had our own words. These Croatian words now are surfacing left right and centre, whether they are necessary or not"*
- *Emilia Vantich, Interview # 20: "These new words are old Croat words that have been brought back, after the Second World War when we joined Yugoslavia our words were slowly phased out and eventually our children were not taught Croatian in school but SerboCroat so we were taught their language really and now everything is going back to normal."*

#### **25. A corrupt present.**

- *Martina Zekovich, Interview # 15: "I believe that the media and the Government have massly distorted our present through the use of our past."*
- *Renata Shirovich, Interview # 6: "Heritage has been remade and cleansed ... purified by the government just as it was at the end of the second world war ... I feel this is truly disgusting,"*
- *Antonia Pavichin, Interview # 11: "This is not a democracy except for on paper maybe ... democracy does not live here ... nobody here is completely free, there are those that are privileged though .. they are the ones that have connections in the party and they are Gods. "*



- *Renata Shirovich, Interview # 6: "Tudgman is a bloody communist so there is no former regime ... you see they are just doing what the hell they did before so yes of course the bloody government is selling us our own heritage in order to shut us up, how could I have trust in them?. I think that it has not yet dawned on the west that Tudgman has a PhD in history so what he has done and doing within this field is scandalous ... how can these people look at themselves in the mirror ... for gods sake he was a damned communist general, the youngest general that Tito had. My question to Tudgman is if you are stating the truth now then why the hell did you not tell us this forty years ago? ..... why now do you ask that religion be taught in school when you never stepped into a church during the time of the former regime? ..... this is all lies and I despise all this."*

## **26. A corrupt past.**

- *Vyekoslav Domich, Interview# 9: "Do you know what their politics was .... Get married to a Croatian women ... this went for the officers especially since they had large salaries and had high privileges, they had their own stores as well were they traded in cheap foodstuffs, they especially went for the Dalmatian women and our women went for them because they had money, but today we see that this was a boomerang because they wanted it all. The Serbs did everything step by step .. they distorted our language, culture, took our jobs and finally stole our women. I have a wife ... she is from an island so we built our home on this island and raised a family .... This house next to mine ... it's a Serbs house he bought this land and built this house, he married one of our women and slowly assimilated himself within our culture. Do you realise by now what I am saying? ..... What they did was undertake an organised attempt to genetically cleanse the Croatian nation."*
- *Daniel Aluyevich, Interview # 8: "in Yugoslavia we were not communists like the Russians, not in the same way anyway .... It was a system of Socialism which would have been good if it was correctly and honestly run ...."*

## **27. Pre war constraints to Croatian heritage.**

- *Daniel Aluyevich, Interview # 8: "... during the former regime we could not speak freely about what we lost and at that time we could not speak of Raditch, Bana Yelachich and all those Croatian Kings ... we couldn't even whisper their names in fear of persecution ... we were ordered to forget all that....."*
- *Nina Baras, Interview # 17: "...when we were a member of the former Yugoslavia we did not study Croat heritage but instead they made us study Serb heritage. The Serbs had more power in the former regime, so much power that they even ensured that in school their heritage was to be studied and not ours."*
- *Ivana Franich, Interview # 13: "During the old regime we lived a lot better but on the other hand people were not free, people could not say that they were Croat in fear of persecution by the authorities. People were happier from a materialistic point of view but spiritually things were catastrophic. Things are better now... people are poorer but they have their own nationality and identity."*

## **28. Justifying the new language.**

- *Emilia Vantich, Interview # 20: "These new words are old Croat words that have been brought back, after the Second World War when we joined Yugoslavia our words were slowly phased out and eventually our children were not taught Croatian in school but Serbo Croat so we were taught their language really and now everything is going back to normal."*
- *Daniel Aluyevich, Interview # 8: "reacted ..... you know that the Croats always wanted to have a language they could call their own and that is because they had always lived under foreign rule"*
- *Snyejana Reich, Interview # 1: "Eeem it is only normal that the language needed to be changed it had to change because it had a lot of Turkish and Italian words"*



*or even Serb words, so in the beginning this was all very much overdone but I think that with time this is all calming down. “*

## **29. Current governments sanitization of the past.**

- *Renata Andriyolich, Interview # 2: Well I feel that there are actually less, lets see for example when I was younger they used to take us on excursions to Tito's house which was a museum, but now that house does not exist any more .. as a museum that is ... you see it is still there but nobody goes there any more ... it's just disgraceful. All statues and remnants of the second world war have been destroyed .. but why, why rewrite history.*

*INT: so Tito is a taboo subject.*

*Yes he is but that is just a fiasco for us .. it is shameful .. if we are ashamed of our past then we do not have any future at all.*

- *Reny Shirovich, Interview # 6: Victors throughout history have always dictated how heritage is depicted. He who won always altered the facts in order to suit him. So you see, heritage can never be authentic.*

- *Danira Yeleska, Interview # 10: Of course they did ... they did what the bloody Fascists did ... they changed and nostalgically cleansed all books that are being studied in school, if you compare the books that are being studied now with the ones studied a few years back you will find they contradict themselves in almost everything they claim.*

*INT: what happened to the old books?*

*I told you they banned them .. they were not to be used any more, all the old negative aspects of heritage have been rewritten to represent positive aspects now ... I am referring to important personas within heritage. so a I was saying nothing has really changed ... but we claim to be democratic and open towards Europe etc. etc.*

## **30. Former governments sanitization of the past.**

- *Tonchi Bibich, Interview # 12: ... lets say for example the Blaiburg Massacre ... it did not exist in the previous regime but now it is accepted thus we can only assume that this has filtered down through the government.*
- *Yure Brikan, Interview # 14: Many statues that the former Yugoslav government believed represented Croatian Fascist past were removed, now they have all been replaced. The same thing happened in Zagreb with Ban Yelachich (Croatian King) he was removed from public view but now he has been returned.*
- *Nina Baras, Interview # 17: I think not because they are ..... I don't know, I know that we are a nation that always studied our heritage together with that of other nations, but when we were a member of the former Yugoslavia we did not study Croat heritage but instead they made us study Serb heritage. The Serbs had more power in the former regime, so much power that they even ensured that in school their heritage was to be studied and not ours.*